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ABSTRACT

Presented is an analysis of 1172 reported cases of child abuse in the eight southeastern States in Region IV (Georgia, Alabama, Florida, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Kentucky, and Mississippi). Described in Chapter 1 is the methodology of the study including aims, sampling procedure, and data collection and processing. In Chapter 2, the reported cases are analyzed according to geographic distribution, changes in incidence and case status. Chapter 3 includes the statistics on characteristics of the injured children by characteristics such as age, sex, race, and birth order. Reported incidents are analyzed in chapter 4 according to characteristics such as place, time, assistance given, circumstances, types of injuries, seriousness of injuries, treatment, and official involvement and decisions. Chapter 5 presents statistics concerning the parents or parent substitutes of the abused children, and Chapter 6 covers statistics on the perpetrators. Summary, reflection, and conclusion are included in Chapter 7. A summary of the significant findings of the study is provided, some of which are the following: over 50% of the abused children were under 6 years of age; educational and occupational levels of the parents were low; females injured children more in the early morning and men in the evening; and perpetrators tended to injure children of their own sex more than children of the opposite sex. (IM)

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Child Abuse in the Southeast:

Analysis of 1172 Reported Cases

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ECO 9,204

SUMMARY OF SIGNIFICANT FINDINGS

1. An analysis of the incidents of reported cases within the region over the five year study period suggests that while abusive incidents may be on the increase, changes in the reporting of incidents may be more adequately explained by changes in child abuse reporting laws, the mechanisms for implementing the laws, and/or heightened public awareness.

2. Characteristics of the injured children:

   Age, Sex, Race

   Well over 50.0 percent of all children reported were under six years of age. Data suggest that while it was more difficult to confirm injuries as abuse in the youngest children, it was less likely that abuse was ruled out.

   More males than females were reported; however, a higher percentage of females was adjudged abused in every age group with the exception of the age groups, less than one and fourteen to under eighteen.

   White children reported outnumbered black children 3 to 1. However, abuse was confirmed in a higher percentage of cases in which blacks were involved.

   Age and Sex

   While a higher percentage of male children than female children was reported in the under six age group, females over the age of 14 outnumbered males approximately 2 to 1.

   Race and Age

   The injuries sustained by the youngest black children were less likely classified as confirmed abuse than those sustained by the white children. Black children, ten years and older, however, were adjudged abused more often than white children.

3. Parents or parent substitutes of the injured children:

   The majority of the parents or parent substitutes of the injured children was over the age of 25 and living with their spouse.

   The educational and occupational levels of the parents or parent substitutes were low.

   The main source of income was employment of family members. Contrary to the expected, less than 10.0 percent of the families for which we had relevant data relied upon public assistance grants.

4. Factors associated with case disposition:

Prior Abuse

There was a statistically significant association between the existence of prior abuse and case status. In those cases in which prior abuse was established, abuse was more likely to be confirmed and less likely ruled out than in cases in which there was no evidence of prior abuse.

Source of Referral

It seemed that the recognized source of referral influenced the dispositional case decision. In general, the more formal the source, excluding medical, the more likely abuse was confirmed and the less likely ruled out or deemed uncertain.

Official Assistance

While statistical tests were just below the .05 level of significance for the association between source of initial contact and case disposition, the percentages of confirmed abuse cases were highest when the initial official contacts were made to the court (94.0 percent of all contacts made to this source) and the police department (77.4 percent). Similarly, abuse was ruled out in fewer cases in which the initial contacts were made to police departments and the courts as opposed to other sources.

Time Between Reported Incident and Official Assistance

There was a statistically significant association between time lapse from time of reported incident to time of official assistance and case disposition. In general, the less time between contact and assistance the more likely injuries were confirmed as abuse.

Circumstances Surrounding the Incident

There were three circumstances for which a statistically significant association was obtained: "inadequately controlled anger of the perpetrator", "repeated abuse of the same child", and "sadistic gratification". In cases in which these circumstances were present, abuse was more likely to be confirmed and less likely ruled out, deemed uncertain, or not followed up than in cases where the circumstances were absent or the existence was unknown.

Seriousness of Injuries

A statistically significant association was found between the degree of seriousness of injuries and case status. In cases in which serious injuries were sustained, injuries were more likely confirmed as abuse and less likely ruled out than when injuries were not serious.

Treatment of Injuries

Treatment of injuries was statistically associated to case disposition. Injuries were confirmed as abuse less often and more often ruled out as abuse when no medical treatment was rendered than when medical treatment or hospitalization was required.

Sex of Perpetrators

A statistically significant association was found to exist between sex of the perpetrator and case status. In cases in which females were indicated as perpetrators, injuries were less likely confirmed as abuse and more likely ruled out as abuse than when males were involved.

5. Associations between selected variables:

Time of Incident and Age of Injured Children

There was a statistically significant inverse relationship ($r = -.239$, $p < .001$) between time of the reported incident and age of children. The youngest children were more likely to be injured during the early and late morning periods than were the older children.

Time of Incident and Seriousness of Injuries

A statistically significant association was found to exist between time of incident and seriousness of injuries. The time of serious and fatal injuries was reported unknown more often than the time of injuries which were not serious. Serious injuries whose time of occurrence was ascertainable, however, were more likely than non-serious injuries to have occurred during the early morning. Injuries which were not serious occurred most often during the late afternoon and evening.

Time of Incident and Relationship of Perpetrators

Female parents or parent substitutes injured children more in the early morning, men in the late afternoon and evening. Moreover, the reported time of the incident, in which the

perpetrator was a female was more often unknown than in cases where the perpetrator was male.

Seriousness of Injuries and Age of Children

There was a statistically significant inverse relationship between seriousness of injuries and age of children in confirmed abuse cases. The youngest children were more seriously injured than were older children.

Sex of Perpetrators and Sex of Injured Children

The association between sex of perpetrators and sex of injured children was statistically significant. Perpetrators tended to injure children of their own sex more than children of the opposite sex.

Seriousness of Injuries and Sex of Perpetrators

Although statistical tests were just below the .05 level of significance, male perpetrators were more often involved in injuries which were not serious than were females. On the other hand, a slightly higher percentage of females was indicated when injuries were serious and a considerably higher percentage in fatal cases.

Types of Injuries and Sex of Perpetrators

Sprains, dislocations, and internal injuries were attributed to male perpetrators to a higher degree than would be expected by chance. Female perpetrators were responsible for a larger than statistically expected number of burns and scaldings, bone fractures, and skull fractures.

Preface

Americans have become increasingly aware and concerned about the problem of child abuse. In response to this growing concern in the early 1960's, the Children's Bureau in 1963 published The Abused Child--Principles and Suggested Language for Legislation on Reporting of the Physically Abused Child as a basis on which states could model their reporting laws.

Since the passage of the first reporting laws which were based on the above model, many states have amended their laws while others have repealed them. While all of the modifications undoubtedly reflect the states' perceived needs as they move toward a more effective reporting law, some changes may work to the detriment of the intent of the law. There is a paucity of accumulated conceptual and empirical base for making changes. To date, the best guides tend to be reflected in the trends that are most commonly accepted. Little consideration has been given to the reflection of those who operate directly within the framework of the laws or the efficacy thereof.

In this context, we undertook a Regional study, employing constructed instruments and personal interviews to (1) determine and evaluate legislation, policy, and programs, and (2) determine and evaluate the incidence and nature of child abuse reported in the Region. A prior monograph entitled "Child Abuse: State Legislation and Programs in the Southeast," which was distributed in September, 1973 dealt with the first general goal. This monograph is a report of the findings related to the second.

Date of distribution: Fall, 1974

Acknowledgements

The successful execution and completion of this study and this final report would not have been realized were it not for the cooperation and hard work of many persons. Special recognition and thanks are due to:

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Personnel in the SRS Regional Office for their assistance in establishing an initial working relationship in the participating states and for their continued support;

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Finally, thanks are due to Richardean Anderson and Mike Martin for their editorial remarks and to Judy Adams and Emma Turner for their patience and efficiency in typing drafts and the final report.

While I have received criticisms and valuable suggestions from many persons, I am entirely responsible for the interpretations and/or misinterpretations and any shortcomings in this monograph.

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

General Perspective

Children have been subjected to maltreatment, physical and otherwise, from the beginning of time. It has only been within recent years, however, that society has defined child abuse as a social problem, one demanding solutions in the interest of children, their families, and society in general. But child abuse, a nebulous phenomenon, is not susceptible to ready solutions nor is the problem soluble by and through the efforts of one profession. There is one certain fact--the number of reported child abuse cases is increasing. This increase in numbers, however, cannot be accredited to a natural increase in incidence without first considering the effects of legislation and the mechanisms for implementing the laws.

With child abuse having become a national priority in recent years, a great deal of time and effort have been spent on the making of estimates of the incidence for the nation. Annual estimates, according to sources we consulted, range from a low of 500,000 to a high of between 2.5 and 4 million.* Presently, there are no current national statistics on the incidence of child abuse. The first and only study that was done on the national incidence of child abuse through the states' reporting systems was conducted in 1967 by Brandeis University under the direction of David Gil. Utilizing central registries which were specifically set up for the study, data were gathered on approximately 9,300 cases, approximately 3,300 or 35.5 percent of which

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*Richard J. Light, "Abused and Neglected Children in America: A Study of Alternatives, Harvard Educational Review, Vol. 43, No. 4 (November, 1973), pp. 556-598.

were eliminated as a result of screening out non-physical abuse cases. Thus for 1967, approximately 6,000 confirmed physical abuse cases were reported through legal channels for the nation and U. S. territories.* Of a total of 5,778 cases reported, 351 or 6.1 percent were from the eight Southeastern states in Region IV. How has the reporting situation changed in these states? What are the characteristics of these abused children and their families? Who are the perpetrators? Like the famed Gil study of 1967, this research effort has focused on these kinds of issues surrounding child abuse. Unlike the Gil study, however, we have analyzed the data by case status, i.e., we utilized all relevant reported abuse cases in our sample--confirmed, abuse ruled out, uncertain, and no follow-up--as an attempt to identify factors which may be associated with differential case disposition.

Methodology of the Study

General Objectives

There were two general objectives of this study: 1) to more clearly establish what constitutes child abuse in the Region; and 2) to determine the incidence of reported abuse in the Region.

Specific Aims

1. To determine the major demographic characteristics of abused children,

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*David G. Gil, Nationwide Survey of Legally Reported Physical Abuse of Children. No. 15, Papers in Social Welfare, Brandeis University, Waltham, Mass.: 1968, p. 7.

their families, and perpetrators.

2. To analyze these characteristics in terms of the dispositions of the cases.
3. To determine the extent of reporting in the Region with particular emphasis on state legislation and programs.
4. To analyze the data for associations between selected variables.

Case Definition

A case qualified for inclusion in this study if it were a case which was reported to the states' central registries and could not be eliminated for any of the following reasons: 1) unquestionable evidence pointed to accidental causes; 2) sexual abuse was unaccompanied by other physical injury; 3) unintentional neglect, e.g., parental inadequacies, illnesses, etc.; and 4) false reports, e.g., custody arguments, acts of vengence, etc. Eliminations were necessarily made after the samples were drawn. We did not limit the cases to those inwhich injuries were inflicted by parents or caretakers, nor did we limit cases to those in which abuse was confirmed.

Description of Schedule

The schedule incorporated data which were basically divided into five areas: 1) background data on the abused child; 2) data concerning the abuse incident; 3) data which describe the nature of the abuse; 4) background data on the parent/substitute(s) of the abused child; and 5) data on the perpetrator. Inasmuch as the purposes of the present survey were similar in nature to those of the Gil study of 1967, many of the questions included in the schedule were designed to replicate

certain aspects of this earlier national study. Some questions, however, were added; others were modified; and still others were deleted.

There were several questions included in the schedule for which there was no systematic recorded data in any of the states. The major questions in this category were: 1) school and employment status of the abused child; 2) persons other than perpetrator present when the abuse incident occurred; 3) medical verification of degree of seriousness of injuries; 4) parents as victims of abuse; and 5) the procedure by which the perpetrator was identified.

Questions which were not included in the schedule were primarily related to aspects of the conditions of the housing accommodations of the abused child, duration of parent's/substitutes' employment, services received by members of the abused child's family, and detailed information on the perpetrator. The decision to omit these kinds of data was based on prior limited knowledge of the kinds of data included in central registries. The omission proved to be justified in view of the fact that not one state in the Region includes such information in their records of reported abuse cases. On the one hand this seems surprising since several of these Southeastern states participated in the comprehensive study of the 1967 survey. On the other hand, this is not very surprising when one considers the inclination of any agency to minimize record keeping where possible. In data keeping, states have differentially selected for themselves those pieces of information considered most important for their purposes while excluding others.

Sampling Procedure

Initial plans included the collection of data on each reported case in the Region for the period January 1, 1968 through December 31, 1972. Due to the unanticipated scope of the study which was not accurately predicted from our estimates, limited time and manpower, in conjunction with an SRS policy prohibiting gathering data on any state's total caseload in the instance in which project personnel were requested to lend assistance in the data collection process, we revised our sampling design to include the total population of cases only in those states which requested no assistance from project personnel for the purpose of transferring record information to the schedule. In those states having the

Table 1-1

Analysis of Samples: Population and Sample Size

State	Population Size (all cases reported between 1/1/68 & 12/31/72)	Sample Size*	Sample-percent of Population
Alabama	254	79	30.0
Georgia	232	216	100.0
Kentucky	628	203	30.0
Mississippi	128	120	100.0
North Carolina	2,692	249	30.0**
South Carolina	158	147	100.0
Tennessee	962	158	30.0***
Region	5,054	1,172	

*Final sample size represents the total N of 1,172 after the deletion of unusable schedules: 59 or 48.8% sexual abuse, 16 or 13.2% neglect, 27 or 22.3% false report, and 19 or 15.7% others including accidents, illness. Florida not included in the sample.

**While the total sample was drawn from the period January 1, 1968 - December 31, 1972, only cases for 1972 are included in the study for two reasons: less relevant data prior to 1972 and manpower shortage.

***Sample was drawn from confirmed cases only (N=515) minimal data were recorded for cases reported but not confirmed.

largest number of reported cases and requiring assistance in the data gathering process by project personnel, we drew a 30 percent random sample from their total caseloads.

Data Collection and Processing

This report is based on an assessment of data gathered through the use of a constructed schedule to which data from the participating states' central registries were transferred. In those states which did not request project assistance, the schedules which were mailed to the State offices were completed by personnel in the protective services unit.* In those states which requested project assistance, schedules were completed by the states' protective services unit personnel and project personnel who traveled to the individual states for that purpose. The data were collected in the Spring of 1973.

Prior to transferring the data to optical scan sheets from which IBM computer cards were punched, each schedule was edited by project personnel. Editing resulted in the deletion of 121 cases which were not classified as physical abuse or deliberate neglect or exposure. Based on the narratives of the circumstances surrounding the abuse incidents, project personnel categorized the elements as present, absent, or unknown. Due to limited information recorded in some states, the description of circumstances is not a complete assessment of the abuse situation. Limited and/or incomplete data in this area as well as others, was a major limitation to the study.

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*In South Carolina the schedules which were mailed to the State office were sent to the counties where central registries are maintained.

Chapter 2

REPORTED CASES WITHIN THE REGION

Geographic Distribution

The distribution of total cases* reported in the Region during the period, January 1, 1968 to December 31, 1972 makes clear two points: 1) reported cases are not randomly distributed in the Region; and 2) reported cases have not indicated a natural increase in abuse incidents. There was a total of 5,054 cases reported during the study period. Of the total number of cases reported, Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, and South Carolina, accounting for over 51 percent of the total Regional population, reported only 15.2 percent of the cases (Table 2-1). Kentucky, representing 12.8 percent of the population, reported 12.4 percent of the cases. Tennessee, with 15.6 percent of the population, reported 19.0 of the cases. The marked exception in the Region was North Carolina in which 20.3 percent of the Region's population resides; yet, 53.2 percent of the cases were reported from that state.

Another way of noting the distribution of reported cases is by the number and percentage of counties reporting one or more cases in each state. Based on our random sample (N=1,172) for intensive study, we found that not only are there differences in reporting between states but differences within each state. According to Table 2-2, only 47.4 percent of the counties in the Region reported at least one case during

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*Florida not included in the study--reportedly, over six thousand physical abuse cases were reported from October, 1971 to March 31, 1973 with approximately sixty percent of the cases (including 27 deaths, 40 skull fractures, 111 broken bones, 183 burns and numerous cuts, bruises, and beatings) being validated or confirmed.

Table 2-1

Regional Population and Distribution of Abuse Cases (January 1, 1968 - December 31, 1973) +

State	Total Population	Percentage of Regional Population	Total Number of Cases Reported 1/1/68-12/31/72	Percentage of Total Cases Reported	Number of Reported Cases in Sample	Percentage of Total Reported Cases in Sample
Regional	25,065,620	100.0	5,054	100.0	1172	100.0
**Alabama	3,444,165	13.7	254	5.0	79	6.7
*Georgia	4,589,575	18.3	232	4.6	216	18.4
**Kentucky	3,218,706	12.8	628	12.4	203	17.3
*Mississippi	2,216,912	8.8	126	2.5	120	10.2
**North Carolina	5,082,059	20.3	2,692	53.2	249	21.2
*South Carolina	2,590,516	10.3	158	3.1	147	12.5
**Tennessee	3,923,687	15.6	962	19.0	158	13.5

+ Population figures are from the 1970 Census report. Florida is excluded.

* Data from these states are based on the total caseloads. Georgia did not have data available for the period 1969 through September, 1971.

** A thirty percent random sample was drawn from these states. All sample cases from North Carolina are from 1972. Sample cases from Tennessee were drawn from confirmed abuse cases only (N=515). Minimal data were recorded for cases reported but not confirmed.

the five year period under study. Of sixty-six counties in Alabama, 37.3 percent reported cases. There were 36.5 percent of Georgia's 159 counties reporting. Of 120 counties in Kentucky, 39.2 percent reported at least one case. Over 50.0 percent of the counties reported cases in Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Tennessee; 59.7, 62.0, 65.2, and 50.5 respectively.

Noted also in Table 2-2 is the increase in percentage of counties reporting cases with the increase in county size. Of the 140 counties with a population of less than 10,000 only 24 or 17.1 percent reported. In the county size interval of 10,000 to less than 24,999, 110 counties or 40.8 percent reported. Eighty-one or 57.8 percent of the 140 counties with a population of 25,000 to less than 49,999 reported one or more cases. Of the 59 counties in the population range, 50,000 to less than 74,999, 46 counties or 77.9 percent reported. Cases were reported from all of the 21 counties with a population between 75,000 to less than 100,000. Thirty-five or 97.2 percent of the counties with a population of more than 100,000 reported cases. One county in Alabama with a population of 100,000 or more was not represented in the sample.

The number of cases reported did not follow a patterned increase by county size. There were only 27 or 2.3 percent of the total cases reported from the 24 smallest counties. The number and percentage of cases reported for the second through the fifth sized categories were 181 or 15.5 percent, 170 or 14.6 percent, 169 or 14.5 percent and 104 or 8.9 percent, respectively. While there were only 35 counties reporting with a population of over 100,000 or more, 515 or 44.2 percent of all the cases were reported from these counties.

Table 2-2

Counties in the Region by County Size: Cases Reported

State	Number Counties in Region by County Size						Total	Counties Reporting Cases by State	
	<10,000	10,000< 24,999	25,000< 49,999	50,000< 74,999	75,000< 100,000	100,000 or more		Number	Percent
Alabama	--	31	18	10	2	5	66	25	37.3
Georgia	62	60	19	9	2	7	159	58	36.5
Kentucky	34	58	17	5	3	3	120	47	39.2
Mississippi	10	46	19	4	1	2	82	49	59.7
N. Carolina	13	29	24	17	8	9	100	62	62.0
S. Carolina	2	10	18	6	5	5	46	28	65.2
Tennessee	19	38	25	8	--	5	95	48	50.5
Total Region	140	272	140	59	21	36	668		
Counties reporting cases by size									
Number	24	110	81	46	21	35		317	
Percent	17.1	40.8	57.8	77.9	100.0	97.2		47.4	
Cases reported by county size									
Number	27	181	170	169	104	515			
Percent	2.3	15.5	14.6	14.5	8.9	44.2			

Changes in the Incidence of Reported Cases

The major purpose for gathering data on abuse cases over a five year period was to determine the extent to which the rate of reporting changed, i.e., increased. Cases reported (N=5054) for the years of 1968 through 1972 are presented in Table 2-3. According to this table there was no general natural increase in abuse incidents. Rather, increase in reported cases may be more adequately explained by changes in laws, the mechanism for implementing the laws and/or heightened public awareness. It is apparent from the table below that Mississippi and South Carolina, for which we have total caseload, experienced no patterned change or increase over the study period. There were no amendments to these states' child abuse reporting laws during the study period. Mississippi, however, amended its laws in 1973 providing for more adequately executed social investigations and creating a

Table 2-3

Reported Cases of Abuse in the Region by States for the Period January 1, 1968-December 31, 1972*

State	Year of Incident					Total
	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	
Region	520	431	619	981	2,221	4,772
Alabama	--	--	--	--	--	--
Georgia	72	--	--	--	160	232
Kentucky*	83	70	67	150	258	629
Mississippi	23	14	28	32	17	114
North Carolina	190	207	222	524	1,549	2,692
South Carolina	42	28	24	19	31	144
Tennessee*	95	108	277	318	164	962

*Reports based on fiscal year. Alabama did not provide data on total caseload by year. Totals do not equal to the N of 5054 due to cases not having year recorded and the lack of this information for Alabama.

a new crime of felonious battery of a child.*

It will be interesting to note what effect, it any, this amendment will have on the rate of future reporting. For the first three years of the study period, reported cases in Kentucky remained somewhat stable. In 1971,** the number of cases reported more than doubled. It was in 1970 that the reporting law was amended to include severe malnutrition as abuse. By the end of 1972, the number of cases reported had increased more than three times the rate reported in 1968. But the increase cannot be assumed to reflect a natural increase in incidence rate. For indeed, in 1972, Kentucky's law was further amended by adding sexual abuse and gross neglect and by providing for more freedom for hospitals and physicians to hold a child suspected of being in danger if returned to the custody of parents/substitutes. In addition, a major change was made in the reporting procedure, the public welfare agency replaced police authorities as recipients of reports.

In North Carolina, there was no significant change in the number of cases reported in 1968 through 1970; 190, 207, and 222 cases respectively. Over the 1968 caseload, the 1971 caseload more than doubled. The 1972 caseload was eight times larger than that of 1968 and approximately three times larger than the 1971 caseload. Again, a look at changes in the law gives some explanation for the increase in caseload, although we are not postulating a one-to-one causal relationship. In 1971 North Carolina's

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*See Clara L. Johnson, Child Abuse: State Legislation and Programs in the Southeast (Research Monograph, Regional Institute of Social Welfare Research, University of Georgia, August, 1973), p. 20

**Fiscal 1970-71.

law was amended, among other things, to make reporting mandatory, to abrogate husband-wife privileges, and to provide for the temporary custody of a child by medical facility or physician if release would be dangerous to a child.

For the first two years of the study period, 1968 and 1969, the rate of reporting in Tennessee underwent little change. The number of cases reported in 1970 and 1971 was three times larger than the number reported in 1968. The number of cases (N=164) for 1972 does not reflect the total number since the figures for Tennessee are based on fiscal year records. However, an N of 164 for six months would tend to indicate that a similar increase occurred during all of 1972. Tennessee's reporting law was not amended during the study period. What, then could be a contributing factor to the noted increase during the period 1970-1972? We alluded to the fact earlier that heightened public awareness may be a contributing factor. This appears to be the case in Tennessee. As a prelude to an innovative 24 hour protective service program which was approved in June 1971 and became operative in March, 1972, a consortium was brought together in 1970 to find ways to improve the care of neglected and dependent children. Subsequently, a study of Nashville, Davidson County service delivery system was undertaken.*

The higher incidence of reported cases noted particularly in North Carolina and the annual increase in reported cases observed both in North Carolina and Kentucky seem to reflect state laws and "administrative aspects

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*Marvin R. Burt and Louis H. Blair, Options for Improving the Care of Neglected and Dependent Children, Nashville-Davidson, Tennessee (Washington, D. C.: The Urban Institute, 1971).

of reporting procedures." Of all the seven states included in this Regional study, North Carolina has the most flexible and inclusive in terms of definition and legislative intent and purpose. In terms of definition and intent, North Carolina provides for the risk of as well as the actual physical injury inflicted other than by accidental means, including sexual abuse. Beyond this basic element in the law, the reporting procedure and legislative directions are clearly presented. Any person may report cases orally, by telephone, or written to the county director of social services who then, by legislative direction, has the responsibility for initiating a social investigation and taking necessary action on behalf of the child.*

Reported Cases by Case Status

Of the 1172 cases which served as the basis for our intensive study of characteristics of child abuse and child abuse circumstances throughout the Region, 795 or 67.8 percent were confirmed cases of physical abuse. Only in 89 or 7.6 percent of the cases was abuse ruled out. On the other hand, for 240 or 20.5 percent of the cases, no clear cut decision was made between abuse--nonabuse status. Of significance at this point are the 39 or 3.3 percent cases for which no follow-up was conducted which might have lead to a firm disposition. This seemingly significant observation takes on more meaning in a subsequent section which we note severity and other relevant variables by case status.

Perhaps the most significant observation in Table 2-4 is the high percentage of cases (20.5 percent) in which investigation into the

*See Johnson pp. 21 and 38.

Table 2-4

Regional Distribution of Sample Cases by Case Status

State	Abuse Confirmed N	Abuse Confirmed %	Ruled out N	Ruled out %	Uncertain N	Uncertain %	No Follow-up N	No Follow-up %	No Disposition Indicated N	No Disposition Indicated %	Total
Alabama	24	30.4	1	1.3	54	68.4	--	--	--	--	79
Georgia	185	85.7	4	1.9	21	9.7	5	2.3	1	.5	216
Kentucky	103	50.7	24	11.8	66	32.5	5	2.5	5	2.5	203
Mississippi	101	84.2	2	1.7	10	8.3	7	5.8	--	--	120
North Carolina	118	47.4	53	21.3	62	24.9	15	6.0	1	0.4	249
South Carolina	106	72.1	5	3.4	27	18.4	7	4.8	2	1.4	147
Tennessee	158	100.0	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	158
Total N	795	67.8	89	7.6	240	20.5	39	3.3	9	0.8	1,172

incident resulted in uncertainty, i.e., whether abuse had or had not been perpetrated against the victims of injury. This high percentage of uncertainty, ranging from a low of 8.3 percent in Mississippi to a high of 68.4 percent in Alabama, may be an indication of several things: 1) a lack of well defined and uniform criteria for determining abuse, 2) a lack of uniform and effective guides for conducting social investigations from which more firm decisions can be made, 3) too much time elapsing between the incident and agency response,* and 4) a lack of developed skills to make a detection between injuries of an abusive--nonabusive nature. We are not, at this point in time, in the enviable position of asserting which one of the above or what combination or, in fact, what other factors may be operating. One point, however, is quite clear. Until we are in a better position of making firm and correct decisions in these matters, many children will continue to be in jeopardy of possible further and more serious physical harm.**

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*This factor will be addressed more fully in a subsequent section.

**While we did not observe this consequence to a phenomenal degree, we were able to identify cases in which abuse had been previously ruled out or uncertainty was indicated which later resulted in more serious injuries or death.

Chapter 3

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE INJURED CHILDREN

This section of the chapter is devoted to a discussion of major characteristics of the injured children (N=1172) without respect to case status. Subsequent sections deal with characteristics by case status in which case the N for the two-way classifications varies more significantly from the total sample N due to attritions resulting from the number of cases not designed a case status in conjunction with missing data on specific items.

Age, Sex and Race

It is clear from Table 3-1 that the Regional age distribution varied minimally from the national distribution discovered in the 1967 Brandeis study. Of the 1,153 cases for which age was known, 57.3 percent of the injured children were under six years of age; 23.5 percent were ten years of age or older. Comparable percentages from the Brandeis study were 54.0 and 25.0, respectively. In the present study 36.1 percent of the children were under three years of age in comparison to 34.0 percent in the earlier national study.* It should be noted, however, that while the Regional age distribution in the present study closely corresponds to the national distribution, wide variations existed between the states in the Region. In two states--Georgia and South Carolina--over sixty percent of the reported children were under six years of age. Correspondingly, fewer children at or above the age of ten were reported, 19.9 and 15.4 percent,

*See Gil, p. 9

Table 3-1

Age Distribution of Injured Children

State	Age of Children																Total
	Under 1 year		1 to < 2 years		2 to < 3 years		3 to < 6 years		6 to < 8 years		8 to < 10 years		10 to < 12 years		12 to < 14 years		14 to < 18 years		18 to < 20 years		
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	
Alabama	12	16.0	2	2.7	7	9.3	20	26.7	6	8.0	9	12.0	5	6.7	4	5.3	10	13.3	--	--	75
Georgia	40	19.0	24	11.4	24	11.4	44	20.9	20	9.5	17	8.1	11	5.2	14	6.6	17	8.1	--	--	211
Kentucky	32	15.8	21	10.3	23	11.3	46	22.7	20	9.9	13	6.4	14	6.9	10	4.9	23	11.3	--	--	202
Mississippi	19	15.8	8	6.7	13	10.8	24	20.0	12	10.0	15	12.5	3	2.5	11	9.2	15	12.5	--	--	120
N. Carolina	25	10.0	21	8.4	21	8.4	55	22.1	27	10.8	24	9.6	24	9.6	23	9.2	29	11.7	--	--	249
S. Carolina	37	25.9	17	11.9	22	15.4	21	14.7	18	12.6	6	4.2	6	4.2	12	8.4	4	2.8	--	--	143
Tennessee	18	11.7	12	7.8	19	12.3	34	22.1	20	13.0	14	9.1	12	7.8	9	5.8	14	9.1	01	.7	153
Total N & %	183	15.8	105	9.1	129	11.2	244	21.2	123	10.7	98	8.5	75	6.5	83	7.2	112	9.7	1	.08	1,153
Cumulative %			24.9		36.1		57.3		68.0		76.5		83.0		90.2		99.9		99.9		

Percentages based on row totals.

respectively. Unlike the other states in the Region, South Carolina's total caseload included over twenty five percent under one year of age. Moreover, approximately fifty percent were under three years of age. In the three to five years category, South Carolina's caseload included less than fifteen percent while the other states were similar to Gil's findings of twenty percent. Alabama's sample, on the other hand, included only 2.7 percent in the one to less than two year old group but 26.7 percent in the three to five years category. The age distribution in North Carolina was more evenly distributed over the entire age range, being comparable to the other states in the three to five age interval with 22.1 percent reported. The major deviation in Mississippi's total caseload, both from the other states in the Region and the 1967 study, was noted in the small percentage of cases (2.5 percent) reported in the ten years to under twelve age group. All of the states, with the exception of South Carolina, were similar to Gil's findings in reporting a slightly higher percentages of cases in the fourteen and above age group than in the two younger age groups.

The sex distribution of the sample closely corresponded to that found in Gil's study. Of the total sample, 637 or 54.3 percent were boys; 527 or 45.0 percent were girls; and for 8 or 0.7 percent, sex was unknown. One state, Kentucky, reported more females than males.

Based on a total of 1,053 cases for which information on race was recorded,* 73.1 percent were white; 24.5 percent were black; 0.9 percent

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*This attrition is due primarily to the large number of cases in Tennessee's sample which were reported on an older form on which race was not included.

were classified as other and 1.5 percent unknown. This racial composition roughly corresponds to Gil's findings (p. 10) of the total cohort--65.0 percent white, 30.0 percent non-white, and 5.0 percent unknown. However, when Gil noted the racial composition from his sample communities which included nine of the country's largest cities, he found a significant difference 36.1 percent white, 48.1 percent black, and 17.8 percent other. We failed to note, however, such a drastic change in racial composition when we considered cases from two of the largest cities in the Southeast--60.0 white and 40.0 percent non-white.

Table 3-2

Race and Sex of Injured Children

	Race								Sex							
	White		Black		Other		Unknown		Male		Female		Unknown	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Alabama	58	74.4	15	19.2	--	--	5	6.4	40	50.6	38	48.1	1	1.3
Georgia	171	79.2	45	20.8	--	--	--	--	125	57.9	89	41.2	2	1.0
Kentucky	169	83.3	27	13.3	--	--	7	3.4	96	47.3	107	52.7		
Mississippi	70	58.3	46	38.3	01	.8	2	1.7	69	57.5	51	42.5		
N. Carolina	177	72.0	61	24.8	07	2.9	1	0.4	140	56.2	107	42.9	2	0.8
S. Carolina	87	59.2	58	39.5	1	0.7	1	0.7	85	57.8	62	42.2		
Tennessee*	38	86.4	6	13.6					82	51.9	73	46.2	3	1.9
Region Total and Percents	770	73.1	258	24.5	9	.9	16	1.5	637	45.0	527	45.0	8	.7

*Old form did not include race.

Characteristics by Case Status

Age, Sex and Race

While there was no statistical significance, there tended to be a

Table 3-3

Age of Injured Children by Case Status

Case Status	Age of Children																						Total
	Under 1 year		1 year to < 2		2 years to < 3		3 years to < 6		6 years to < 8		8 years to < 10		10 years to < 12		12 years to < 14		14 years to < 18		18+				
Abuse Confirmed	115	63.5	74	70.4	86	66.6	158	65.2	84	70.0	70	71.4	46	61.3	66	80.4	79	64.7	1	100.0	779	67.4
Ruled out	12	6.6	8	7.6	9	6.9	21	8.6	11	9.1	7	7.1	8	10.6	3	3.6	20	16.3	-	-----	99	8.5
Uncertain	46	25.4	21	20.0	27	20.9	55	22.7	18	15.0	20	20.4	17	22.6	13	15.8	20	16.3	-	-----	237	20.4
No follow-up	8	4.4	2	1.9	7	5.4	8	3.3	7	5.8	1	1.0	4	5.3	--	----	3	2.4	-	-----	40	3.4
Total	181	15.7	105	9.0	129	11.2	242	21.0	120	10.4	98	8.5	75	6.4	82	7.1	122	10.6	1	0.0	--	1155

pattern in designated case status in relation to age. With the exception of the age category--ten years but less than twelve--all age categories included a higher percent of confirmed abuse than did the under one year of age group. There were more under one classified as uncertain. On the other hand, with the exception of the age group--twelve years but less than fourteen--in the under six year old children, abuse was less likely to be ruled out than for the ten years and older. This two-way classification, which is presented in Table 3-3, tends to suggest that while it is more difficult to confirm abuse in the very young it is less likely that abuse will be ruled out.

By case status, 427 or 67.2 percent of the cases involving boys represented confirmed abuse and 53.8 percent of the total confirmed cases involved boys. Of the 526 girls, 69.8 percent were classified as confirmed abuse victims. Girls represented 46.2 percent of all confirmed cases (Table 3-4). In one state a statistically significant relationship was obtained for the association between sex and case status ($X^2 = 8.335$; $p<.04$, 3df). In this instance females, 94.1 percent, were adjudged abused more often than males, 76.8 percent. While abuse was ruled out in 2.9 percent of the cases involving males, in none of the cases involving females was abuse ruled out. For only 5.9 percent of the females was uncertain specified; of the cases involving males, 10.1 percent were uncertain and 10.1 percent indicated no follow-up.

Of the white children reported 487 or 63.7 percent were classified as confirmed cases of abuse as compared to 181 or 71.0 percent of the black children. Five or 62.5 percent of the children classified as other were confirmed abuse cases. Se. Table 3-5.

Table 3-4

Sex of Injured Children by Case Status

Case Status	Sex of Child				Total	
	Male		Female			
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Abuse Confirmed	427	67.2	367	69.8	794	68.3
Ruled Out	52	8.2	36	6.8	88	7.6
Uncertain	130	20.5	110	20.9	240	20.6
No Follow-up	26	4.1	13	2.4	39	3.3
Total	635	54.6	526	45.3	1161	

Unless otherwise indicated, percentages for case status are based on column totals.

Table 3-5

Ethnic Background of Children by Case Status

Case Status	Race of Child								Total	
	White		Black		Other		Unknown			
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Abuse Confirmed	487	63.7	181	71.0	5	62.5	4	28.6	677	65.0
Ruled Out	75	9.8	13	5.1	--	--	--	--	88	8.4
Uncertain	78	23.3	47	18.4	3	37.5	10	71.4	238	22.8
No Follow-up	25	3.2	14	5.4	--	--	--	--	39	3.7
Total	765	73.4	255	24.5	8	0.8	14	1.3	1042	

Age and Sex of Abused Children by Case Status

Having determined the age and sex distributions for the sample of children reported, we decided to note age of these children by sex. Previously we reported the following findings: 1) more males (54.3 percent) than females (45.0 percent) were reported; and 2) 57.3 percent of all

children reported were under the age of six; 36.1 percent were under the age of three; and 23.5 percent were over the age of ten. While we found no statistically significant relationships, we were able to determine a definite pattern existing between the sex of the children by age. In Table 3-6, we note that male children reported are somewhat younger than the females; 60.3 percent male to 55.1 percent female were under six years of age, and 38.4 percent male to 34.4 percent females were under the age of three. On the other hand, for the children reported over the age of ten, 27.6 percent were female to 20.2 percent male. This sex-age difference is especially noted in the fourteen to under eighteen age group--6.0 percent male and 14.2 percent female were in this age bracket. These differences are highlighted in the column percentages presented in Table 3-6. This is especially true for the age groups--one year but less than two and fourteen but less than eighteen. Though females represented 45.0 percent of the total sample, they made up only 34.3 percent of the children in the one year but less than two age category. On the other hand, they represented 66.6 percent of the fourteen but less than eighteen-year olds.

If we proceed with our analysis of age and sex controlling for case status, there are further revealing facts which can be seen in Tables 3-7 and 3-8. While more males were reported in the Region, more females were adjudged to have been abused. Only in two age groups was this finding reversed--less than one and fourteen to under eighteen. Yet, we have seen earlier that males reported tend to be somewhat younger and we shall see in a subsequent chapter that males reported tended to be

more seriously injured. While we certainly have no answers, we strongly feel that these revelations need to be considered and researched.

Table 3-6

Age and Sex of Injured Children

	Age of Children										
Sex	Total	Under 1 yr.	1 yr. < 2	2 yrs. < 3	3 yrs. < 6	6 yrs. < 8	8 yrs. < 10	10 yrs. < 12	12 yrs. < 14	14 yrs. < 18	18+
Male	613	(52.0) 15.2	(65.7) 11.3	(58.4) 11.9	(55.4) 21.9	(55.0) 10.8	(56.7) 9.0	(56.8) 6.9	(53.1) 7.0	(33.3) 6.0	0.3
Female	522	(48.0) 16.5	(34.3) 7.9	(41.6) 10.0	(44.6) 20.7	(45.0) 10.3	(43.3) 8.0	(53.2) 6.1	(46.9) 7.3	(66.6) 14.2	
Total	1135	179	105	125	242	120	97	74	81	111	1

Column percentages are presented in parentheses; other percentages represent row totals based on data found in Table 3-7.

Race and Age by Case Status

It was determined earlier that abuse was confirmed in over sixty-three percent of the cases involving white children, in over seventy percent of the cases involving black children, and in over sixty-two percent of the children classified as other. This section deals with age and race of the reported children by case status. It is necessary to note here that the total number on which the following analysis are made is smaller than the total sample due to attrition resulting from a lack of age and race data for certain cases.

It is apparent from Table 3-9 that while a higher percentage of black children than white children were adjudged abused, this was not an observation

Table 3-7

Age and Sex of Children
by Case Status

Sex	Age of Children -- Abuse Confirmed										
	1 year	1 yr. < 2	2 yrs. < 3	3 yrs. < 6	6 yrs. < 8	8 yrs. < 10	10 yrs. < 12	12 yrs. < 14	14 yrs. < 18	18 yrs. & older	Total
Male	54.0 61	63.5 47	56.6 47	50.6 80	53.6 45	55.1 38	54.3 25	50.8 33	37.2 29	100.0 1	52.7 406
Female	46.0 52	36.5 27	43.4 36	49.4 78	46.4 39	44.9 31	45.7 21	49.2 32	62.8 49	--	47.3 365
Total	14.7 113	9.6 74	10.8 83	20.5 158	10.9 84	8.9 69	6.0 46	8.4 65	10.1 78	0.1 1	771

Abuse Ruled Out

Male	58.3 7	87.5 7	66.7 6	66.7 14	54.5 6	71.4 5	57.1 4	66.7 2	10.1 1	--	59.1 52
Female	41.7 5	12.5 1	33.3 3	33.3 7	45.5 5	28.6 2	42.9 3	33.3 1	90.0 9	--	40.0 36
Total	13.6 12	9.1 8	10.2 9	23.9 21	12.5 11	8.0 7	8.0 7	3.4 3	11.4 10	--	88

Table 3-7 Continue

Abuse Uncertain

Male	45.7 21	61.9 13	59.3 16	61.8 34	50.0 9	55.0 11	64.7 11	61.5 8	30.0 6	--	54.4 129
Female	54.3 25	38.1 8	40.7 11	38.2 21	50.0 9	45.0 9	35.3 6	38.5 5	70.0 14	--	45.6 108
Total	19.4 46	8.9 21	11.4 27	23.2 55	7.6 18	8.4 20	7.2 17	5.5 13	8.4 20	--	237

No Follow-up on Case

Male	50.0 4	100.0 2	66.7 4	75.0 6	85.7 6	100.0 1	50.0 2	--	33.3 1	--	66.7 26
Female	50.0 4	--	33.3 2	25.0 2	14.3 1	--	50.0 2	--	66.7 2	--	33.3 13
Total	20.5 8	5.1 2	15.4 6	20.5 8	17.9 7	2.6 1	10.3 4	--	7.7 3	--	39

Table 3-8

Age and Sex of Children -- Abuse Confirmed

Sex	Total	Age of Children															
		< 1 year		1 year < 2		2 years < 3		3 years < 6		6 years < 8		8 years < 10		10 years < 12		12 years < 14		14 years < 18		18+	
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Male	613	93	65.6	69	68.1	73	64.4	134	59.7	66	68.2	55	69.1	42	59.5	43	76.7	37	78.4	1	100.0
Female	522	86	61.8	36	75.0	41	87.8	108	72.2	54	72.2	42	73.8	32	65.6	38	84.2	74	66.2	--	--

Percentages in each age group are based on the total number of children in the confirmed abuse category in each age group of Table 3-7, divided by the total number of children reported in each age group. These percentages are by sex of children.

Table 3-9

Case Status for Specific Age Groups by Race

Case Status	Age of Injured Children															
	Under 1 Year				Under Two Years				Ten < Fourteen				Fourteen < Eighteen			
	White		Black		White		Black		White		Black		White		Black	
Abuse Confirmed	77	64.2	21	48.8	127	64.5	39	60.9	62	64.6	32	78.0	51	66.2	15	78.9
Ruled Out	10	8.2	2	4.7	16	8.1	4	6.2	10	10.4	1	2.4	8	10.4	1	5.3
Uncertainty	29	24.2	16	37.2	47	23.9	17	26.5	22	22.9	6	14.6	15	19.5	3	15.8
No Follow-up	4	3.3	4	9.3	6	3.0	4	9.3	2	2.1	2	4.9	3	3.9	--	----
Total	120		43		197		64		96		41		77		19	

Data presented in this table are based on Table 3-10

which held true uniformly over the entire age range. Of the white children under the age of one (N=120), 77 or 64.2 percent represented confirmed abuse cases against 21 or 48.8 percent of the black children (N=43). When we considered children under the age of two, we found that of a total of 197 white children in this age group 64.5 percent were abused, and 60.9 percent of the black children (N=64) were so judged. In relation to the case status, abuse ruled out, 10 or 8.2 percent of the white children under the age of one were so classified to 2 or 4.7 percent of the black children. Adding children under age two (N=197) resulted in a disposition of abuse ruled out for 16 or 8.1 of the white children and 4 or 6.2 percent of the black children (N=64). Uncertainty was the case for 29 or 24.2 percent of the white children and 16 or 37.2 percent of the black children under the age of one. There was uncertainty in the case of 47 or 23.9 percent of the white children under two years of age and 17 or 26.5 percent of the black children. There was no follow-up indicated for 4 or 3.3 percent of the white children under one year of age, and for 4 or 9.3 percent of the black children. When the under two year olds were added, six or 3.0 percent of the white children reportedly were not followed-up; there were 4 or 9.3 percent of the black children under the age of two in this category.

Turning our attention to the older children, it was found that in the age group--ten years to less than fourteen--62 or 64.6 percent of the white children (N=96) represented confirmed abuse cases; in 10 cases (10.4 percent) abuse was ruled out; uncertainty was indicated for 22 or 22.9 percent; and no follow-up for only 2 or 2.1 percent. For black children in this age group (N=41), 32 or 78.0 percent represented confirmed abuse; for only 1 or 2.4 percent abuse was ruled out; uncertainty was the case disposition for 6 or 14.6 percent; and 2 or

4.9 percent were not followed up.

Of 77 white children between the ages of fourteen and eighteen, 51 or 66.2 percent were judged to have been abused. This compared to 15 or 78.9 percent of the 19 black children over fourteen. Abuse was ruled out in the case of 8 or 10.4 percent of the white children, and 1 or 5.3 percent of the black children. Uncertainty was the case disposition for 15 or 19.5 percent of the white children and 3 or 15.8 percent of the black children. For 3 or 3.9 percent of the white children, no follow-up was indicated. None of the black children fell in the no follow-up category.

Pulling together the findings discussed above, one notes that there are two age groups, both above the age of ten, in which black children represented more cases of confirmed abuse than did white children. For the two younger age categories, fewer cases involving black children were confirmed abuse. The difference between the percentage white (64.2) and the percentage black (48.8) confirmed for the under 1 year of age category is especially significant. Certain questions readily come to mind. At this most vulnerable age, why are so few cases involving black children confirmed? While fewer cases involving black children are ruled out, more cases of black children are either deemed uncertain or were not followed-up. Are the incidents surrounding injuries to black children under the age of one vastly different from those in which white children are involved? Are definitions and/or criteria different by race? Is the higher degree of indecisiveness due to the untenable explanations given by the black parents/guardians? Then what about the higher percentage of cases in which no follow-up was indicated for the black children? Although there appears to be a slight relationship between race and case

Table 3-10

Race and Age of Children by Case Status

Age of Children	Case Status												Total
	Abuse Confirmed				Ruled Out		Uncertain				No Follow-up		
	White	Black	Other	Unknown	White	Black	White	Black	Other	Unknown	White	Black	
< 1 year	77 16.0	21 11.8	2 40.0	2 50.0	10 13.3	2 15.3	29 16.2	16 34.7	--	1 11.1	4 16.0	4 28.5	168
1 yr. < 2	50 10.4	18 10.1		--	6 8.0	2 15.3	18 10.1	1 2.1	1 33.3	--	2 8.0	--	98
2 < 3	48 10.0	23 12.9		--	6 8.0	3 23.0	21 11.7	3 6.5	--	3 33.3	4 16.0	2 14.2	113
3 < 6	106 22.0	27 15.2	--	--	19 25.3	2 15.3	45 25.2	9 19.5	--	1 11.1	5 20.0	3 21.4	217
6 < 8	48 10.0	21 11.8	--		10 13.3	1 7.6	10 5.6	6 13.0	1 33.3	1 11.1	5 20.0	2 14.2	105
8 < 10	38 7.9	20 11.2	1 20.0	1 25.0	6 8.0	1 7.6	18 10.1	2 4.3	--	--	--	1 7.1	88
10 < 12	27 5.6	8 4.5	--	--	7 9.3	1 7.6	12 6.7	3 6.5	1 33.3	1 11.1	2 8.0	2 14.2	64
12 < 14	35 7.2	24 13.6	1 20.0	--	3 4.0	--	10 5.6	3 6.5	--	--	--	--	76
14 < 18	51 10.6	15 8.4	1 20.0	1 25.0	8 10.6	1 7.6	15 8.4	3 6.5	--	2 22.2	3 12.0	--	100
Total	480 46.6	177 17.2	5 0.4	4 0.3	75 7.2	13 1.3	178 17.3	46 4.5	3 0.2	9 0.8	25 2.4	14 1.4	1029 100.0

Percentage are based on column totals

status for this age group, there is no postulation of cause and effect. Such findings, however, do suggest that a wide range of further research is needed. The reader is referred to Table 3-10 for data on race over the total age range distribution by case status. Here, one notes the percentages by race for each case status. Again, certain major differences are found, e.g., of the 480 white children adjudged abused 77 or 16.0 percent were under the age of one; of the 177 black children, 21 or 11.8 percent were so adjudged. On the other hand, for the age group--ten years and older--23.4 percent white were confirmed to 36.5 percent black.

Deviations and Experiences

There were 218 reported noticeable deviations during the twelve months preceding the abusive incident. This represented 77 or 7.6 percent of the total (N=1014*) cases having physical problems. There were 56 or 5.5 percent revealing problems in intellectual functioning; and 85 or 8.4 percent defined as having problems of a social/behavioral nature. These percentages do not approximate those indicating deviations in the Gil study; 15.4 percent physical, 8.5 percent intellectual, and 30.0 social behavioral.

The differences between the two research efforts in regard to noticeable deviations may be attributed, in part, to the data gathering process. We collected data from records which were not being kept for the purpose of our study. On the other hand, reports for the Gil study were being made as incidents occurred. This procedure held at least two major advantages over relying

*North Carolina was the single state which systematically recorded these kinds of data. Tennessee was excluded from these analyses due to lack of data. The other states, while considered less accurate in this area than North Carolina, were included.

Table 3-11

Noticeable Deviations of the Injured Children by Case Status

Case Status	Deviations						Total	
	Physical		Intellectual		Social/ Behavioral			
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Abuse Confirmed	52	67.5	38	67.8	69	81.1	159	72.9
Ruled Out	--	----	2	3.6	3	3.5	5	2.2
Uncertain	24	31.2	15	26.8	11	12.9	50	22.9
No Follow-up	1	1.3	1	1.8	2	2.4	4	1.8
Total	77	35.3	56	25.6	85	39.0	218	

*Tennessee not included

Table 3-12

Prior Experiences of the Injured Children by Case Status

Case Status	Prior Experiences										Total	
	Hospitalization Physical Illness		Hospitalization Mental Illness		Juvenile Court		Foster Care		Child Care Institution			
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Confirmed	15	50.0	1	100.0	4	80.0	15	62.5	1	50.0	36	58.1
Ruled Out	1	3.3									1	1.6
Uncertain	13	43.3					1	4.2			14	22.6
No Follow-up	1	3.3			1	20.0	8	33.3	1	50.0	11	17.7
Total	30	48.4	1	1.6	5	8.1	24	38.7	2	3.1	62	

on data unspecific to the research purpose: 1) the machinery allowed for an interplay between the states, the counties, and the research staff for obtaining completed data; 2) the currency of the data with the purpose of the study as a stimulus would suggest that every item on the uniform constructed instrument would be considered in assessing the characteristics of the child, the incident, etc. Of course, it is always a possibility that such awareness, as that which is developed for a particular piece of research, can contribute to the inflation of occurrences of a social/behavioral nature. It may be well to note here that it was in this area that the greatest difference between the studies existed. We are certain, however, that due to the fact that only one state in the Region systematically recorded information of the above nature, our findings represent under reporting of all deviations. Note Table 3-11 for the classification of deviations by case status.

It was found that our data on the experiences of the injured children prior to the abusive incident, like that of deviations, were probably under reporting of all possible experiences. Again, the state's unsystematic recording of these kinds of experiences seems to be a contributing factor. Two states, Georgia and Tennessee, were excluded from the analysis of prior experiences. From a total of 798 cases, we found the distribution of experiences by case status in Table 3-12.

The most significant revelation in Table 3-12 appears to be the relatively high percentage of cases in the no follow-up category. Eight of the eleven cases in the no follow-up category had at some time the experience of foster care placement.

When noting the reported experiences in terms of the total sample

of 798, we found that the 30 children who had been hospitalized for physical illness represented only 3.8 percent; 24 or 3.0 percent had been in foster care; less than 1.0 percent had either of the remaining experiences. Of course, these percentages fall far below those found by Gil and possibly due to the reason to which we alluded earlier.

Involvement in Prior Abuse

In noting the number of children involved in prior abuse incidents, it was found that 348 or 30.7 percent had been abused previously.* For 340 or 30.0 percent of the children, it was unknown. And for 444 or 39.2 percent there was no indication of prior abuse. The percentage found to have been previously abused in the national cohort of Gil's study was 34.2. However, based on a high percentage of unknown (50.4 percent), Gil estimated the actual rate of prior abuse to be approximately 60.0 percent which was supported in the detailed study of the sample communities. We found that a higher percentage (39.8) of children had experienced prior abuse from a close scrutiny of the circumstances surrounding the abuse incident. Combined with 24.7 percent unknown, the actual rate would appear to be higher than was indicated from an analysis of the reported occurrence. The analysis of circumstances will be discussed in detail in a subsequent chapter.

From a cross-tabulation (Table 3-13) of prior abuse by case status we found that in those cases in which prior abuse was established, abuse was more likely to be confirmed than in cases in which there was no evidence of prior abuse or was unknown. Abuse was more often ruled out

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*This item was based on the existence of records of previously reported abuse or evidence uncovered pointing to such possible abuse.

in cases of no prior abuse. The uncertain case status was most often observed in cases in which the existence of prior abuse was unknown. The association between the existence of prior abuse and case status was statistically significant under .001.

Table 3-13

Prior Abuse by Case Status

Case Status	The Existence of Prior Abuse						Total	
	Yes		No		Unknown			
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Abused Confirmed	269	77.2	291	65.5	204	60.0	764	67.4
Ruled Out	18	5.2	48	10.8	23	6.7	89	7.9
Uncertain	47	13.5	97	21.8	96	28.2	240	21.2
No Follow-up	14	4.0	8	1.8	17	5.0	39	3.4
Total	348	30.7	444	39.2	340	30.0	1132	

X^2 = 40.460 significant under .001 6df. Percentages based on column totals.

Birth Order by Case Status

One final characteristic concerning the children by case status is the order of birth. In Table 3-14, we observe that over forty-one percent were a first child; 22.1 percent a second; and 10.6 percent a third. Thus, approximately 75 percent of the cases were accounted for in the first three birth order categories.

Injured Children in Military Families

Military families represented a small percentage of the families in the study. There were only 52 or 4.4 percent of the cases in which the father

Table 3-14

Birth Order of Children by Case Status

Case Status	Birth Order of Children											Total
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10(other)	Unknown	
Abuse Confirmed	64.6 240	65.8 129	69.1 65	61.2 19	73.0 19	50.0 4	60.0 3	100.0 4	73.0 38	40.0 2	64.1 59	65.8 582
Ruled Out	12.1 45	10.2 20	7.4 7	16.1 5	--- ---	--- ---	--- ---	--- ---	1.9 1	--- ---	6.5 6	9.5 84
Uncertain	19.4 72	20.9 41	20.2 19	16.1 5	19.2 5	--- ---	40.0 2	--- ---	17.3 9	60.0 3	28.2 26	20.5 182
No Follow up	3.7 14	3.0 6	3.2 3	6.4 2	7.6 2	50.0 4	--- ---	--- ---	7.6 4	--- ---	1.0 1	4.0 36
Total	41.9 371	22.1 196	10.6 94	3.5 31	2.9 26	0.9 8	0.5 5	0.4 4	5.8 52	0.5 5	 92	 884

Alabama and Tennessee are not included in these analyses.

or father substitute was either presently or formerly in a branch of the military. Of these, 28 were involved in cases from South Carolina. We have taken note of only these cases for a cursory analysis of injuries to children in military families.

The 28 military families represented 12.5 percent of the total reported caseload from that state. While representing only 12.5 percent of the caseload, military families were responsible for approximately 22.0 percent of the cases involving serious injuries to children. In the 7 families in which the father or father substitute was formerly in the services, 5 or 71.4 percent of the cases involved serious injuries. In these 5 cases, fathers (N=4) were more often than mothers the designated abuser. In 11 or 52.4 percent of active military families injuries were serious. Mothers and fathers were equally involved in these cases; and in 3 or 27.3 of the 11 serious cases, the identity of the perpetrator was unknown.

Theory points to the periodic separations of the husband, the high geographic mobility, and the fact that a married service man--especially the career man--is partly judged relative to promotion on the basis of the shining image (or tarnished) of his family life. Moreover, there is the assumption of the imposition of a strict authoritarian model on family life and family decisions. These stresses differ only in degree from those found by non-military families. They likely do exist at higher than normal levels in military families and could therefore be clearly studied to determine the extent to which such families and occupational stresses contribute to child abuse and neglect.*

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*We certainly are not generalizing from this small sample. However, we do feel that this larger than statistically expected rate of child abuse among military personnel suggests a wide range of further research.

Chapter 4

THE REPORTED INCIDENT

Place of Incident by Case Status

Of a total of 1143 cases, 899 or 78.6 percent involved incidents in the childs household; for 162 or 14.1 percent the place was unknown; and for 24 or 2.0 percent the incident occurred in the perpetrator's household. Gil reported 92.0 of the incidents occurring in the child's household. In view of our high percentage of unknowns, we feel that this is probably a more accurate picture of the location of the child when abuse occurs.

In Table 4-1, we note place of the reported incident by case status. Of the 784 cases which were confirmed, 639 or 86.6 percent occurred within the child's home; the place for 90 or 11.5 percent was unknown. Of the cases ruled out 64 or 72.7 percent occurred in the home to 19 or 21.6 percent unknown. For those incidents for which uncertainty was the case status, 168 or 72.1 percent reportedly occurred in the home; for 45 or 19.3 percent the place was unknown. There were 28 incidents occurring in the home for which no follow-up was indicated. Thus of the 38 incidents in this case status category 73.7 percent occurred in the home and for 8 or 21.1 percent the place of the incident was unknown. From these data, it appears that regardless of the eventual case disposition, most injuries to the children occur in their own homes. This, of course, is not a startling revelation. What needs to be discovered are more accurate means of determining the differences between the abusive and non-abusive incidents.

Table 4-1

Place of Incident by Case Status

Case Status	Place of Incident							Total
	Child's Household	Perpetrator's Household	School	Child Care Facility	Public Place	Other	Unknown	
Abuse Confirmed	639 71.0	20 83.3	8 53.3	5 83.3	4 36.3	18 69.2	90 55.5	784 68.5
Ruled Out	64 7.1	---	2 13.3	---	1 9.0	2 7.6	19 11.7	88 7.6
Uncertain	168 18.6	3 12.5	5 33.3	1 16.7	6 54.5	5 19.2	45 27.8	233 20.3
No Follow-up	28 3.1	1 4.1	---	---	---	1 3.8	8 4.9	38 3.3
Total	899 78.6	24 2.0	15 1.3	6 0.5	11 0.9	26 2.2	162 14.1	1143

Percentages are based on column totals.

While there were relatively few incidents which occurred in school, public places, etc., it is noteworthy that fewer of these cases were confirmed than when the incident occurred in the child's home, in a child care facility, or in the perpetrator's home. On the other hand, more of these cases were classified as uncertain.

Time of Incident

Only three states in the Region recorded the time of the incident--Alabama, South Carolina, and Tennessee. In far too many cases, however, this information was not recorded. Our analysis of time of incident is based on records from South Carolina and Tennessee.

The first part of this section deals with a discussion of time of incident and selected variables to determine associations. These analyses have been made without controlling for case status. This avenue was taken due to the limited number of cases for which time was available and the firm belief that the efficacy of the findings would not be violated in so doing.*

Time of Incident by Age of Child

It is apparent from Table 4-2 that there is a significant inverse relationship (R= -0.239; significant under .001) between time of the reported incident and the age of the child. Taking a cursory look at the table, one notes two major trends: (1) the youngest children were more likely to be injured during the early and late morning periods than were the older children, and (2) the time of injuries to the younger children was more likely

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*All cases from Tennessee were confirmed abuse. Only 39 cases out of South Carolina's caseload fell into the three other case status categories.

Table 4-2

Time of Incident by Age of Child

Time	Age of Children: less than 1 year	1 year < 2	2 years < 3	3 years < 6	under 6	6 years < 8	8 years < 10	10 years < 12	12 years < 14	14 years < 18	18 and over	10 and over	Total
12:01 A.M. 6 A.M.	1 1.9	3 10.7	2 4.9	2 3.6	8 61.5	2 5.3	1 5.0	1 5.6	-	1 5.6	-	2 15.4	13 4.4
6:01 A.M. Noon	5 9.4	4 14.3	4 9.8	12 21.8	25 58.1	5 13.1	5 25.0	1 5.6	2 9.5	5 27.7	-	8 18.6	43 14.7
12:01 P.M. 6 P.M.	4 7.5	2 7.1	5 12.1	8 14.5	19 51.4	6 15.8	4 20.0	3 16.6	4 19.0	1 5.6	-	8 21.6	37 12.6
6:01 P.M. Mid-night	6 11.3	6 21.4	9 22.0	12 21.8	33 44.6	13 34.2	6 30.0	6 33.3	6 28.5	9 50.0	1 100.0	22 29.7	74 25.3
Un-known	37 69.8	13 46.4	21 51.2	21 38.1	92 73.0	12 31.6	4 20.0	7 38.9	9 42.9	2 11.1	-	18 14.3	126 43.0
Total	53 18.1	28 9.6	41 14.0	55 18.8		38 13.0	20 6.8	18 6.1	21 7.1	18 6.1	1 0.3		293 100.0

Percentages based on column totals. Percentages for grouped age intervals based on row totals—columns 5 and 12.

R(correlation)=-0.239
significant under
.001

to be unknown. For the time period--12:01 A.M. - 6 A.M.--61.5 percent of the reported cases represented children under the age of six; 15.4 percent were ten years or older. From 6:01 A.M. to noon, 58.1 percent of the reported children were under six and 18.6 percent were ten or older. Between 12:01 P.M. and 6 P.M., 51.4 percent of the children were under age six; 29.7 percent were ten or older. For the time period--6:01 P.M. and midnight--44.6 percent of the children reported were under the age of six and 29.7 percent were ten years of age or older. The time was unknown in the case of 92 or 73.0 percent of the children under age six, and 18 or 14.3 percent of the children age ten or older.

Time of Incident by Seriousness of Injuries

According to Table 4-3 there is a relationship between time of incident and seriousness of the injuries. Two major tendencies can be noted from the table: (1) the time of serious and fatal injuries was reported unknown more often than the time of less serious injuries, and (2) serious injuries, excluding fatalities, were more likely than non-serious injuries to have occurred during the early morning; less serious injuries occurred more often during the late afternoon.

Of the 13 cases reported between 12:01 A.M. and 6 A.M., nine or 69.2 percent were of a serious nature. Of the cases reported between 6:01 A.M. and noon, 15 or 34.1 percent were serious. For the time period--12:01 P.M. and 6 P.M.--11 or 28.9 percent, including two fatalities, were serious. For the latest time period, 15 or 19.7 percent of the cases were serious (one fatality included). Of the cases involving serious injuries, the time was unknown in 60 or 56.1 percent of the cases. This is compared to 58 or only 33.7 percent of the cases designated as not serious.

Table 4-3

Time of Incident And Seriousness Of Injuries

Time	Seriousness								Total
	Not Serious		Serious		Fatal		Unknown		
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	
12:01 A.M. 6 A.M.	4 (2.3)	30.8	9 (8.4)	69.2	----		----		13
6:01 A.M. Noon	28 (16.3)	63.6	15 (14.0)	34.1	----		1 (6.7)	2.3	44
12:01 P.M. 6 P.M.	26 (15.1)	68.4	9 (8.4)	23.7	2 (28.6)	5.3	1 (6.7)	2.6	38
6:01 P.M. Midnight	56 (32.6)	73.7	14 (13.1)	18.4	1 (14.3)	1.3	5 (33.3)	6.6	76
Unknown	58 (33.7)	44.6	60 (56.1)	46.2	4 (57.1)	3.0	8 (53.3)	6.2	130
Total	172	57.1	107	35.5	7	2.3	15	5.0	301

Column totals enclosed within parentheses. X^2 = 31.874 significant at .002 12df
R (correlation) = 0.212 significant at .053

Time of Incident by Relationship of Perpetrator

Table 4-4 presents data on the association between the time of the incident and the relationship of the perpetrator. A significant inverse association was found to exist between these variables. Noting the table, one observes that women were more apt to abuse children during the early morning than were male perpetrators who were more likely to abuse children during the evening hours. Additionally, the reported time of abusive incidents in which the perpetrator was a female parent/parent substitute was more often unknown than in cases where the perpetrator was a male parent/parent substitute.

Time of Incident by Type of Injuries

In analyzing the data on the association, if any, between the type of injuries and time we found an interesting pattern even though there was not a statistical significance. From the medical viewpoint there are certain types of injuries which are more likely than others to result from abusive acts. In general, dislocations, fractures, severe bruises, and burns are more likely abuse than are lacerations and ingestions.* We found that in cases of serious injuries, the time of the incident was generally during the early morning or before noon, or unknown. For less serious types of injuries, the time of the injuries was more likely to be between noon and midnight. Table 4-5 presents an overview of the injuries

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*See: Holter, Joan C. and Friedman, Sanford B. "Child Abuse: Early Case Findings in the Emergency Department", Pediatrics Vol. 42, Number 1 July 1963. Jackson, Graham. "Child Abuse Syndrome: The Cases We Miss", BMJ (1972) 2, 756-757.

Table 4-4

Time of Incident and Relationship of Perpetrator

Time	Relationship of Perpetrator																	
	Natural Mother		Stepmother Living W/Child		Other Mother Substitute		Natural Father		Stepfather Living W/Child		Other Father Substitute		Relative Not Living With Child		Other		Unknown		Total	
12:01 A.M. 6 A.M.	6	(5.9) 46.2	—		—		3	(3.1) 23.1	1	(2.6) 7.7	2	(20.0) 15.4	—		1	(11.1) 2.6	—		13	4.6
6:01 A.M. Noon	14	(13.9) 32.8	—		1	(11.1) 2.3	10	(10.4) 23.3	12	(30.8) 27.9	1	(10.0) 2.3	2	(22.2) 4.6	2	(22.2) 4.6	1	(33.3) 2.3	43	15.1
12:01 P.M. 6 P.M.	9	(8.9) 25.0	2	(25.0) 5.6	1	(11.1) 2.8	12	(12.5) 33.3	6	(15.3) 16.6	2	(20.0) 5.6	2	(22.2) 5.6	1	(11.1) 2.8	1	(33.3) 2.8	36	12.7
6:01 P.M. Midnight	18	(17.8) 24.0	2	(25.0) 2.7	1	(11.1) 1.3	38	(39.6) 50.7	8	(20.5) 10.6	4	(40.0) 5.3	2	(22.2) 2.7	1	(11.1) 1.3	1	(33.3) 1.3	75	26.4
Unknown	54	(53.5) 46.1	4	(50.0) 3.4	6	(66.6) 5.1	33	(34.4) 28.2	12	(30.8) 10.3	1	(10.0) .9	3	(33.3) 2.6	4	(44.4) 2.6	—		117	41.2
Total	101	35.6	8	2.8	9	3.2	96	33.8	39	13.7	10	3.5	9	3.1	9	3.1	3	1.1	284	100.0

Column percentages enclosed within parentheses. X^2 = 46.725 significant at .04 32df
R (correlation) = -0.195 significant under .001

Table 4-5

Time of Incident by Type of Injuries

Time	Type of Injuries															
	None Apparent	Bruises Welts	Sprains Dislocations	Malnutrition Deliberate Neglect	Freezing	Burns	Abrasions	Wounds, Cuts	Internal Injuries	Dismemberment	Bone Fracture	Skull Fracture	Subdural Hemorrhage	Brain Damage	Other	Total
12:01 AM 6 AM	---	10 4.3	1 16.7	2 8.7	---	2 8.7	6 7.0	4 8.9	1 5.3	---	2 5.7	---	3 15.0	1 20.0	1 2.7	33 5.9
6:01 AM Noon	---	37 15.9	1 16.7	---	---	4 17.4	12 14.0	5 11.1	6 31.6	1 100.0	4 11.4	2 12.5	4 20.0	2 40.0	7 18.9	85 15.2
12:01 PM 6 PM	1 33.3	32 13.7	---	---	---	1 4.3	10 11.6	6 13.3	3 15.8	---	1 2.9	1 6.3	2 10.0	---	4 10.8	61 10.9
6:01 PM Midnight	2 66.7	64 27.5	2 33.3	4 17.4	1 14.3	3 13.0	21 24.4	16 35.6	2 10.5	---	4 11.4	---	2 10.0	---	10 27.0	131 23.4
Unknown	---	90 38.6	2 33.3	17 73.9	6 85.7	13 56.5	37 43.0	14 31.1	7 36.8	---	24 68.6	13 81.3	9 45.0	2 40.0	15 40.5	249 44.5
Total	3 0.5	233 41.6	6 1.1	23 4.1	7 1.2	23 4.1	86 15.3	45 8.1	19 3.4	1 0.2	35 6.2	16 2.8	20 3.6	5 0.8	37 6.6	659

Percentages based on column totals.

by time of incident. A detail discussion of injuries by case status will be presented in a subsequent section.

Time of Incident by Case Status

Time of incident by case status is noted in Table 4-6. Of the 300 cases included in the table, 261 or 87.0 percent were classified as confirmed abuse cases. The exceptionally high percentage of all cases falling in the abuse confirmed category is explained by the fact that all cases from Tennessee were so classified which inflated this category for the combined data. Only 39 cases, or 13 percent from South Carolina's caseload fell in the other categories. Perhaps, the most significant observation is that all of the cases, in which the incident occurred between 12:01 A.M. and 6 A.M., were confirmed.

Assistance For The Injured Children

Who Initiated Help?

Initial assistance* subsequent to the incident came from a variety of sources. According to Table 4-7, the highest percentages of cases in the Region were referred by school or child care personnel (17.3%); member(s) of the child's household, excluding the perpetrator (16.6%); and concerned citizens or neighbors (15.6%). Physicians or hospital personnel and relatives not living with child each referred 135 or 11.6 percent of the cases. This

*Assistance, as reported by states in this Region, were recorded in terms of the person(s) seeking initial assistance, the person(s) or agency which was contacted, or the official reporter. There was no consistent way to differentiate between assistance, referral, reporting. This is a major limitation to interpreting these results.

Table 4-6

Time Of Incident By Case Status

Case Status	Time of Incident										Total	
	12:01 A.M. & 6 A.M.		6:01 A.M. & Noon		12:01 P.M. & 6 P.M.		6:01 P.M. & Midnight		Unknown			
Abuse Confirmed	13 (100.0)	5.0	40 (90.9)	15.3	35 (92.1)	13.4	71 (93.4)	27.2	102 (80.0)	39.1	261	87.0
Ruled Out	----		2 (4.5)	40.0	----		1 (1.3)	20.0	2 (1.6)	40.0	5	1.7
Uncertain	----		2 (4.5)	7.4	3 (7.9)	11.1	4 (5.3)	14.8	18 (14.0)	66.7	27	9.0
No Follow-up	----		----		----		----		7 (5.4)	100.0	7	2.3
Total	13	4.3	44	14.7	38	12.7	76	25.3	129	43.0	300	100.0

Percentages within parentheses are based on column totals.

distribution was in contrast to that of the Brandeis study in which the highest percentages were member of child's household (36.0%), neighbor or visiting relative, etc. (29.9%), perpetrator (24.3%), and school (16.3%)*. There are perhaps several reasons for the change in the distribution of the persons seeking assistance for injured children, among which the following are probable: (1) with the growing emphasis on child abuse, more adequate detection, and the definition of abusing as a crime (Alabama, Mississippi, North Carolina, and Tennessee define abuse as a crime) perpetrators may view seeking assistance as a threat; (2) the states' individual efforts through public service, radio and television spots, and distribution of pamphlets to schools and other community organizations (North Carolina, Tennessee, Mississippi, Kentucky) to encourage awareness within the total community. What we have found tends to indicate that awareness of the need for and actual assistance is coming from many fronts.

The Regional distribution of referral or assistance sources, however, did not reflect the exact distributional pattern in any of the separate states. The differences between states may reflect elements in the laws, mechanisms for implementing the laws, and heightened public awareness. In all seven states, school or child care referral sources ranked high in terms of seeking assistance. In one state the highest percentage of cases were referred from this source; in two states the second highest; and in four states the third highest. In four states, members of the injured children's households sought assistance; in three states, this source ranked less than third. Neighbors and/or concerned citizens ranked at least third

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*Gil Mimeographed p. 20.

in terms of source of assistance in four states; physicians and/or hospital personnel in three states; and other relatives not living with child, suspected perpetrator, and law enforcement personnel each ranked at least third in one state.

Turning our attention to the source of referral (assistance) by case status, we found a significant association (Table 4-7). Noting the table we can determine the following general tendencies: (1) that when assistance was sought by a relative/neighbor/concerned citizen or physicians or sources unknown the cases were less likely to be confirmed than when referrals were made by school or child care personnel and law enforcement officers; (2) that cases referred by relatives or neighbors/concerned citizens were more likely to be ruled out; (3) that while a relatively low percentage of the cases referred from medical sources were confirmed, they were least likely to be ruled out but a high percentage were ruled uncertain; (4) that a relatively low percentage of cases referred by school and law enforcement personnel were ruled out and classified as uncertain; (5) the highest percentage of no follow-up cases was among those referred by law enforcement officers; (6) that if the source was unknown, a low percentage of cases was confirmed and high percentages ruled out and uncertain.

Thus, it seems that the recognized source of assistance influenced the dispositional case decision. In general, the more formal the source, excluding medical,* the more likely abuse was confirmed and the least likely ruled out or uncertain.

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*We might offer the suggestion that the relatively low percentage of cases confirmed and ruled out with a correspondingly high percentage uncertain in cases referred by physicians reflect the nature of the circumstances and the injuries.

Table 4-7

Who Initiated Help By Case Status

Case Status	Source of Assistance														Total	
	Suspected Perpetrators		Member Child's Household		School or Child Care		Relative Not in Child's Household		Phy/Hosp. Personnel		Law Enforcement Officer		Neighbor/ Concerned Citizen		Other		Unknown			
Abuse Confirmed	39	65.0	126	65.2	157	78.1	77	57.0	92	68.1	66	77.6	125	69.0	80	74.0	32	52.4	794	68.5
Ruled Out	5	8.3	17	8.8	9	4.4	21	15.5	4	2.9	3	3.5	16	8.8	8	7.4	6	9.8	89	7.6
Uncertain	14	23.3	42	21.7	32	15.9	33	24.4	36	26.6	9	10.5	34	18.7	17	15.7	22	36.0	239	20.6
No Follow-up	2	3.3	8	4.1	3	1.4	4	2.9	3	2.2	7	8.2	6	3.3	3	2.7	1	1.6	37	3.1
Total	60	5.1	193	16.6	201	17.3	135	11.6	135	11.6	85	7.3	181	15.6	108	9.3	61	5.2	1159	

R^2 = 54.653 significant under .001 24 df. Percentages based on column totals.

Contacts Subsequent to the Incident

Although we were not able to determine the sequence through which medical contact was made, i.e., prior or subsequent to official contact, we noted the sources for initial contact for medical assistance. The hospital or clinic was contacted in 315 or 38.0 percent of the cases (N=829). In 181 or 21.8 percent of the cases, private physicians were contacted. In another 73 or 8.8 percent of the cases, physicians were contacted although it was not known whether private or otherwise. The sources contacted for medical assistance was unknown in 28.5 percent of the cases.

The high percentage of private physicians contacted deviated substantially from the percentage found in the Gil study (6.0 percent).* It may be wise to note here, however, that this high percentage represented a range from 3.2 percent in one state to a high of 63.4 percent in another. Table 4-8 includes information on source for initial contact, medical and official, by case status.

Data on the resources first contacted for official assistance show that public social welfare agencies were contacted in 819 or 71.3 percent of the cases reported (n=1148). The police departments were contacted in 155 or 13.5 percent of the cases. The percentage contacts initially made to police departments range from a low of 5.7 percent in one state to a high of 30.0 percent in another. It was interesting to note that the highest percentages to this source were observed in the states which

*Gil, p. 20.

Table 4-8

Resources First Contacted

Case Status	Medical Sources						Official Sources								
	Private Doctor	Hospital Clinic	Physician Unspecified	Other	Unknown	Total	Private Doctor	Hospital Clinic	Police	Public Social Agency	Private Social Agency	Court	Other	Unknown	Total
Abuse Confirmed	78.4 142	70.4 222	97.2 71	75.0 18	62.7 148	72.5 601	60.0 6	60.0 15	77.4 120	65.1 533	70.0 14	94.0 63	78.9 15	51.1 17	68.2 783
Ruled Out	4.9 9	3.4 11	1.3 1	----	10.5 25	5.5 46	----	16.0 4	3.9 6	9.0 74	15.0 3	1.4 1	5.2 1	----	7.8 89
Uncertain	13.8 25	19.6 62	1.3 1	20.8 5	21.6 51	17.4 144	40.0 4	24.0 6	13.4 21	22.5 184	15.0 3	2.9 2	15.7 3	42.4 14	20.6 237
No Follow-up	2.7 5	6.3 20	----	4.1 1	5.0 12	4.6 38	----	----	5.2 8	3.4 28	----	1.4 1	----	6.0 2	3.4 39
Total	21.8 181	38.0 315	8.8 73	2.9 24	28.5 236	100.0 829	0.9 10	2.2 25	13.5 155	71.3 819	1.7 20	5.8 67	1.7 19	2.9 33	100.0 1148

Percentages based on column totals. Alabama not included in medical resources.

specified some constituent of law enforcement as an alternate recipient of reports.* Another interesting point observed in Table 4-8 is the fact that the percentages of cases confirmed were highest when the initial official contacts were made to the court (94.0 percent of all contacts made to this source) and the police department (77.4 percent). Of the 819 cases in which a public social agency was the first official source contacted, 533 or 65.1 percent were judges confirmed abuse cases. Only 60.0 percent of the cases were confirmed in which the initial official contact was a medical source. Similarly fewer cases were ruled out when initial contacts were made to police departments and the courts as opposed to cases reported to other sources. What does this mean? Are cases in which some arm of the law is contacted more serious in nature? More serious than in those cases in which some medical constituent is contacted? Are law enforcers more expert social investigators thus being able to better detect the existence of abuse or is it due to the sanctioned authority vested in law enforcement? The answers, we do not profess to possess; however, it would appear that answers are demanded in view of two major trends: (1) the move toward early warning signals, i.e., prevention--to render a decision other than abuse nullifies all "legal" avenues to services to families if, indeed, they are not desired; (2) the move to changing recipient of reports to public social agencies. These thought questions are not posed for the purpose of arguing for the designation of all reported cases of injuries as valid cases of abuse. For indeed, we recognize that accidents still happen. We are suggesting that we need to

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*See Johnson, pp. 34-39 (Table 3-1).

at least attempt to explain why the differences exist in case status by source of contact and clearly for the reasons given in social trend.

Time between Incident and Assistance

The time between the incident and medical assistance was most often unknown (in 56.8 percent of the cases).* In 260 or 31.3 percent of the cases, for which the time lapse was known, assistance was received within 24 hours. In eleven cases or 1.3 percent, medical assistance was received after a duration of a month or more. There was no significant association found between time lapse and case status. The complete distribution of time lapse by case status is found in Table 4-9.

Official assistance was received within 24 hours in 296 or 25.6 percent of the cases. In 40 cases or 3.4 percent official assistance was received after a duration of a month or more. The time lapse was unknown in 361 or 31.1 percent of the cases. The association between time lapse and case status was significant under the .05 level (Table 4-10).

Circumstances Surrounding the Incident

We alluded to the fact earlier in the report that due to limited and/or incomplete data recorded in some of the states, the description of circumstances is not an adequate assessment of the abuse situation.** Therefore, in presenting the results, we have made no comparisons between the results and the Gil study.

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*There is no uniform recording of the date of medical assistance in the states' central registries.

**These data are characterized by extremely high percentages of unknowns; consequently, percentages present and absent would be underreported. The reader is reminded that project personnel evaluated the circumstances based on information contained in the states' records.

Table 4-9

Time Between Incident
and Medical Assistance

Case Status	Time Lapse						
	< 24 Hours	1 Day < 2 Days	2 Days < 1 Week	1 Week To < Month	1 Month Or More	Unknown	Total
Abuse Confirmed	76.9 200	83.3 40	77.8 21	66.6 8	72.7 8	69.0 326	72.6 603
Ruled Out	2.6 7	2.0 1	3.7 1	8.3 1	18.1 2	6.7 32	5.3 44
Uncertain	16.5 43	12.5 6	14.8 4	25.0 3	 0	18.8 89	17.4 145
No Follow-up	3.8 10	2.0 1	3.7 1	 0	9.0 1	5.2 25	4.5 38
Total	31.3 260	5.7 48	3.2 27	1.4 12	1.3 11	56.8 472	830

Alabama not included.

Table 4-10

Time Between
Incident and Official Assistance

Case Status	Time Lapse						
	< 24 Hours	1 Day < 2 Days	2 Days < 1Week	1 Week To < Month	1 Month Or More	Unknown	Total
Abuse Confirmed	67.5 200	80.0 148	64.1 125	62.9 51	65.0 26	67.3 243	68.4 793
Ruled Out	8.7 26	4.3 8	8.2 16	4.9 4	15.0 6	7.7 28	7.5 88
Uncertain	19.5 58	15.1 28	25.1 49	27.1 22	15.0 6	20.7 75	20.5 238
No Follow-up	4.3 12	0.5 1	2.5 5	4.9 4	5.0 2	4.1 15	3.3 39
Total	25.6 296	15.9 185	16.8 195	6.9 81	3.4 40	31.1 361	1158

X^2 = 25.522 significant under .05 18df

A complete description of circumstances present by case status is presented in Table 4-11. This section will be limited to a brief discussion of those circumstances for which a significant association was found to exist between the circumstance and designated case status.

We found that "inadequately controlled anger of the perpetrator" was present in 241 or 24.3 percent of 991 cases. There was a significant association between the existence of this circumstance and case disposition. Cases in which the circumstance was present (N=241) were more likely to be confirmed (80.5 percent) and less likely to be ruled out (3.3 percent), deemed uncertain (14.1 percent), or not followed-up (2.0 percent) than were cases where the circumstance was absent (N=217: confirmed, 67.7; ruled out, 6.9; uncertain, 21.1; no follow-up, 4.1) or its existence was unknown (N=533: confirmed, 61.3; ruled out, 10.6; uncertain, 23.8; no follow-up, 4.1).

There was a high percentage (74.4) of cases in which the circumstance "repeated abuse of the same child" was present. A significant association was observed between the existence of this circumstance and case status. Of the 449 cases in which the circumstance was present, 338 or 75.2 percent were confirmed; 20 or 4.4 percent were ruled out; 71 or 15.8 percent were classified as uncertain; and 20 or 4.5 percent were not followed up. Where the circumstance was absent, 66.5 percent of the cases were confirmed; 11.5 percent were ruled out; 20.5 percent were uncertain; and 1.5 were not followed up. Of the unknowns, 60.0 percent were confirmed; 7.1 percent were ruled out; 28.0 percent were uncertain; and 4.6 percent were not followed up.

Table 4-11

Circumstances Surrounding Incident by Case Status

Circumstances	Case Status: Number and Percent Present								Totals		
	Abuse Confirmed		Ruled Out		Uncertain		No Follow-up		Responses	Present	Percent Present
Immediate or delayed response to act of child	239	76.3	21	6.7	52	16.6	1	.3	1021	313	30.6
Misconduct of child by community standards	87	82.8	6	5.7	12	11.4	-		953	105	11.0
*Inadequately controlled anger of perpetrator	194	80.5	8	3.3	34	14.1	5	2.0	991	241	24.3
Resentment/rejection of child	53	64.6	1	1.2	24	29.2	4	4.9	981	82	8.3
**Repeated abuse of child	338	75.2	20	4.4	71	15.8	20	4.5	1127	449	74.4
Behavior atypicality of child	130	76.9	6	3.5	31	18.3	2	1.2	1146	169	16.2
Sexual abuse	16	84.2	-	-	1	5.2	2	10.5	1154	19	1.6
Quarrel between caretakers	32	72.7	5	11.4	6	13.6	1	2.3	1032	44	4.3
Battered child	87	71.3	5	4.1	22	18.0	8	6.6	1168	122	10.4

Table 4-11 continued

Circumstances	Abuse	Confirmed	Ruled	Out	Uncertain		No Follow-up		Responses	Present	Percent Present
Child neglect	126	67.7	8	4.3	39	21.0	13	7.0	1155	186	16.1
Mental or emotional deviation of perpetrator	208	69.6	23	7.7	53	17.7	15	5.0	1015	299	26.8
***Sadistic gratification	77	81.0	2	2.1	11	11.6	5	5.2	1005	95	8.5
Alcoholic intoxication	59	65.5	6	6.6	14	15.6	11	12.2	1170	90	7.7
Perpetrator self-defined authoritarian	131	73.6	16	9.0	30	16.8	1	0.5	1027	178	17.3
Mounting stress	250	70.0	23	6.4	67	18.8	17	4.7	1067	357	33.4
Mother absent/perpetrator male	143	69.7	9	4.4	51	24.8	2	1.0	1111	205	18.5
Mother absent/perpetrator female	39	46.9	6	7.2	35	42.1	3	3.7	1134	83	7.3

* $X^2 = 30.278$ significant under .001 6df; **$X^2 = 39.485$ significant under .001 6df; *** $X^2 = 13.084$ significant under .05

"Sadistic gratification of the perpetrator" as a circumstance was present in 8.5 percent of the cases (N=1105). The association between this circumstance and case status was found to be significant under the .05 level. Ninety-five cases were characterized by this circumstance. Of these, 77 or 81.0 percent were confirmed; 2.1 percent were ruled out; 11.6 percent were deemed uncertain; and 5.2 percent were not followed up. Of the 776 cases in which the circumstance was absent, 66.2 percent were confirmed; 8.3 percent were ruled out; 22.2 percent were uncertain; and 3.0 percent were not followed up. Where the existence of the circumstance was unknown (N=234), 66.6 percent of the cases were confirmed; 8.5 percent were ruled out; 20.9 percent were uncertain; and 3.8 percent were not followed up.

Beyond the findings represented by the above discussion and the results presented in Table 4-11, we attempt to make no conclusive remarks. It would appear, however, that more research and extensive analyses need to be focused on these, as well as other circumstances, in the direction of determining what factors are relevant to dispositional decisions in child abuse cases.

Injuries Sustained in the Incident

Types of Injuries

Bruises and welts were the most common of the injuries sustained. These injuries accounted for 42.2 percent of all the injuries. Second in order of frequency were abrasions, contusions, and lacerations (15.5 percent). The complete percentage distribution of injuries, based on total injuries, is presented in Table 4-12. Percentage children sustaining specific injuries are presented in the same table. This latter distribution closely correspond to the national distribution found in the Gil study (p. 18).

Table 4-12

Types of Injuries Sustained

Total	Percent of* Total Injuries	Percent of** Children Sustaining Injury
Bruises, welts	42.2	63.8
Abrasions, contusions, lacerations	15.5	23.4
Wounds and cuts	6.4	9.6
Bone fracture	6.2	9.4
None apparent	5.5	8.3
+Other	6.1	9.2
Burns, scalding	3.9	5.9
Malnutrition(deliberate)	3.7	5.6
Hemorrhage, hematoma	2.9	4.4
Skull fracture	2.7	4.1
Internal injuries	1.9	2.8
Sprains, dislocations	1.3	2.0
Freezing, exposure	0.5	0.8
Brain damage	0.7	1.1
Dismemberment	--	0.1
Unknown	0.5	0.7

*Percentages in this column are based on total injuries.

**Percentages in this column are based on number children. Percentages do not add up to 100 since many children sustained more than one injury.

+Includes human bites.

Types of Injuries by Case Status

According to Table 4-13, there appear to be distinct differences in case status by type of injuries. Noted especially is the extremely low percentage confirmed (24.5) where no injuries were apparent. This may be an indication of the present trend in "waiting until a crime has been committed" in defining abuse.* It is beneficial to suggest that in view of the lapse in time between an alleged incident and assistance, many cases in which no apparent injuries existed may very well have been so described due to the dissipation of the viable qualities of the injuries with the passage of time. At any rate, the criterion of visible injuries as a necessary prerequisite would appear to serve as a hindrance in the move toward "prevention."

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*North Carolina was the single state in the Region providing for children at risk of injury, i.e., potential.

Table 4-13

Types of Injuries by Case Status

Injury	Number	Percentage Case Status			
		Confirmed	Ruled Out	Uncertain	No Follow-up
None	94	24.5	41.5	31.9	2.1
Bruises, welts	835	74.3	4.4	19.4	1.9
Sprains, dislocations	23	73.9	8.7	13.0	4.4
Malnutrition(deliberate)	65	66.1	----	21.7	12.3
Freezing, exposure	9	33.3	----	----	66.6
Burns, scalding	69	71.0	1.5	20.3	7.2
Abrasions, contusions lacerations	269	81.8	3.3	13.8	1.1
Wounds, cuts	112	83.0	0.9	15.2	0.9
Internal injury	33	87.9	----	9.1	3.3
Dismemberment	1	100.0	----	----	----
Bone fracture	109	68.8	2.7	24.8	3.7
Skull fracture	48	64.6	2.1	31.2	2.1
Hemorrhage, hematoma	50	70.0	2.0	22.0	6.0
Brain damage	13	69.1	----	23.1	7.7
Other	100	77.0	3.0	16.0	4.0
Unknown	8	12.5	----	25.0	62.5

Types of Injuries by Sex and Case Status

Boys, suffered more of the serious injuries than did girls. According to Table 4-14, which is a distribution of specific injuries by sex, we note that of the 23 cases in which sprains and dislocations existed, boys represented 73.9 percent to 26.1 percent for girls. Forty-three or 62.3 percent of all burns were sustained by males. Of the 109 cases of bone fractures, 63 or 57.8 were cases involving male children. Skull fractures were sustained by 26 or 54.1 percent males to 22 or 45.9 percent females. Males sustained 76.9 percent of the brain damage injuries (N=13) and 26 or 52.0 percent of the subdural hemorrhage or hematomas. Females suffered slightly more internal injuries (51.5 percent). One male child was dismembered. Thus, it appears that males were more frequently injured than girls* and sustained a higher percentage of the most serious injuries. On the other hand; however, while a slightly higher overall percentage of the cases involving females were confirmed than cases involving males (69.8 percent female and 67.2 percent male), cases in which serious injuries were sustained were more often confirmed when males were involved than when females were involved (Table 4-15).**

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*See pp. 2 and 4-10 of Chapter III.

**This observation has simply been made and presented. We are not postulating a sex bias in case confirmation. At least three factors necessitate this position: (1) these percentages are based on single injuries, while case disposition may well involve more than one injury; (2) due to small numbers of specific injuries we have not analyzed injuries controlling for sex and age simultaneously; and (3) other factors operating in individual cases are not herein considered.

Table 4-14

Specific Injuries Sustained by Children by Sex

Sex	Injuries													
	Sprains, Dislocations		Burns Scaldings		Internal Injury		Bone Fracture		Skull Fracture		Hemorrhage Hematoma		Brain Damage	
Male	17	73.9	43	62.3	16	48.5	63	57.8	26	54.1	26	52.0	10	76.9
Female	6	26.1	26	37.7	17	51.5	46	42.2	22	45.9	24	48.0	3	23.1
Total	23		69		33		109		48		50		13	

Table 4-15

Case Disposition of Specific Injuries by Sex*

	Injuries																			
	Sprains, Dislocations				Burns, Scaldings				Internal Injury				Bone Fracture				Skull Fracture				Hemorrhage Hematoma				Brain Damage			
	AC	RO	UN	NF	AC	RO	UN	NF	AC	RO	UN	NF	AC	RO	UN	NF	AC	RO	UN	NF	AC	RO	UN	NF	AC	RO	UN	NF
Male	70.6	11.7	11.7	5.9	74.4	2.3	14.0	9.3	93.7	--	6.3	---	71.4	1.6	23.8	3.2	73.1	3.8	23.1	---	69.2	---	23.1	7.7	80.0	--	10.0	10.0
Female	83.3	----	16.7	---	65.4	---	30.8	3.8	82.3	--	11.8	5.9	65.2	4.4	26.1	4.4	54.5	---	40.9	4.5	70.8	4.2	20.8	4.2	33.3	--	66.6	----

*Percentages are based on row totals for each type of injury.

Types of Injuries by Age and Case Status

Older children in the sample primarily sustained such injuries as bruises and welts, abrasions and contusions, and wounds and cuts. Younger children, while sustaining more than their share of the above types of injuries, more often suffered from the most serious types of injuries than did the older children.

Of the 21 children sustaining sprains and/or dislocations, 52.4 percent were under age three, 4.8 percent were between three and six, 23.8 percent between six and ten, and 9.5 percent between ten and fourteen. There were 68 cases of burns; 54.4 percent of the children were under age three, 25.0 between three and six, 17.6 between six and ten, and 1.5 percent between ten and fourteen and fourteen and eighteen. Internal injuries were sustained by 33 children. Of these 57.6 percent were under three years of age, 21.2 percent between three and six, 6.1 percent between six and ten, 12.1 percent between ten and fourteen, and 3.0 percent between fourteen and eighteen. Of the 106 bone fracture cases, 81.1 percent were under age three, 6.6 percent between three and six, 6.6 percent between six and ten, 2.8 percent between ten and fourteen and fourteen and eighteen. Skull fracture was sustained by 47 children of which 89.2 percent were under the age of three, 8.5 percent between three and six, and 2.3 percent between six and ten. There were 50 cases of hemorrhage/hematoma; 80.0 percent of the children were less than three years old, 8.0 percent between three and six, 10.0 percent between ten and fourteen, and 2.0 percent between fourteen and eighteen. Of the 13 cases in which brain damage occurred, 92.3 percent of the children were under age three and 7.7 percent between three and six*.

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*This discussion is based on data presented in Table 4-16. The total of each type injury was analyzed for the total age range.

Table 4-16

Case Disposition Of Specific Injuries By Age

Age	Injuries Sustained																							
	Sprains, dislocations				Burns, scaldings				Internal injury				Bone fracture				Skull fracture				Hemorrhage hematoma				Brain damage			
	AC	RO	UN	NT	AC	RO	UN	NT	AC	RO	UN	NT	AC	RO	UN	NT	AC	RO	UN	NT	AC	RO	UN	NT	AC	RO	UN	NT
< 1 Year	3(60.0)	-------	1(20.0)	1(20.0)	9(75.0)	------	3(25.0)	-------	9(90.0)	----1(10.0)	-------		35(59.3)	3(5.1)	18(30.5)	3(5.1)	22(68.8)	1(3.0)	9(27.3)	1(3.0)	17(63.0)	1(3.7)	9(29.6)	1(3.7)	6(67.5)	--	1(16.3)	--
1 Year < 2	3(75.0)	1(25.0)	-------	-------	11(68.8)	------	4(25.0)	1(6.2)	2(66.6)	----2(33.3)	-------		13(76.5)	------	4(23.5)	------	6(85.7)	------	1(14.3)	------	6(85.7)	------	1(14.3)	------	2(100.0)	--	------	--
2 Years < 3	2(100.0)	-------	-------	-------	6(66.7)	------	1(11.1)	2(22.2)	5(83.3)	----1(16.7)	-------		5(50.0)	------	4(40.0)	1(10.0)	1(50.0)	------	1(50.0)	------	4(66.6)	------	1(16.7)	1(16.7)	1(33.3)	--	1(33.3)	1(33.3)
3 Years < 6	-------	1(100.0)	-------	-------	11(64.7)	1(5.9)	4(23.5)	1(5.9)	6(85.7)	---- ------	1(16.3)		6(85.7)	------	1(14.3)	------	-------	------	4(100.0)	------	2(50.0)	------	1(25.0)	1(25.0)	-------	--	1(100.0)	--
6 Years < 8	2(100.0)	-------	-------	-------	9(81.8)	------	1(9.1)	1(9.1)	1(100.0)	---- ------	-------		6(100.0)	------	-------	------	-------	------	-------	------	-------	------	-------	------	-------	--	----	--
8 Years < 10	2(66.6)	-------	1(33.3)	-------	1(100.0)	------	-------	-------	1(1.00)	---- ------	-------		3(100.0)	------	-------	------	1(100.0)	------	-------	------	-------	------	-------	------	-------	--	----	--
10 Years < 12	-------	-------	-------	-------	-------	------	1(100.0)	-------	-------	---- ------	-------		2(100.0)	------	-------	------	-------	------	-------	------	2(100.0)	------	-------	------	-------	--	----	--
12 Years < 14	2(100.0)	-------	-------	-------	-------	------	-------	-------	4(100.0)	---- ------	-------		2(100.0)	------	-------	------	-------	------	-------	------	3(100.0)	------	-------	------	-------	--	----	--
14 Years < 16	2(100.0)	-------	-------	-------	1(100.0)	------	-------	-------	1(100.0)	---- ------	-------		3(100.0)	------	-------	------	-------	------	-------	------	1(100.0)	------	-------	------	-------	--	----	--
16 and over	-------	-------	-------	-------	-------	------	-------	-------	-------	---- ------	-------		-------	------	-------	------	-------	------	-------	------	-------	------	-------	------	-------	--	----	--

*Percentages are based on row totals for each type of injury.

The preceding discussion clearly indicates that children under six years of age sustained the highest percentage of each of the serious types of injuries discussed. Similarly, injuries to the youngest aged children were more often classified as uncertain.

Manner by which Injuries were Inflicted by Case Status

Beating by hand (23.2 percent) and with instruments (30.7 percent) were the most common means for inflicting injuries. The complete distribution by case status is presented in Table 4-17.

Seriousness of Injuries

Seriousness of Injuries by Case Status

The seriousness of the injuries is presented in Table 4-18. Of the 1154 cases for which the degree of seriousness was determined and case status was known, 316 or 27.3 percent were serious, 24 or 2.1 percent were fatalities, 726 or 62.9 percent were not serious, and in 88 cases or 7.6 percent the degree of seriousness was unknown. An aside: While the degree of seriousness for the Gil study was based on medical verification in 83.3 percent of the cases, seriousness for the purpose of the present study was determined by project personnel subjective evaluation based on extent of described injuries, length of hospitalization if known, and age of child. Hence, we feel assured that the percentage of serious cases in the present study is an under-representation. Additionally, the unknown category includes a high proportion of cases which we were sure were very serious in nature but we were not sure whether or not the injuries resulted in fatalities. Not having the information on record, we coded such cases as unknown. And of course, we encountered cases for which we could not make a determination between serious and not serious.

Table 4-17

Manner By Which Injuries Were Inflicted
By Case Status

Case Status	Beating/ Hands	Beating Instrument	Kicking	Strangling Choking	Drowning	Stabbing Slashing	Burning Scalding	Poisoning	Throwing	Deliberate Neglect	Locking Tying	Other	Unknown	Total
Abuse Confirmed	215 70.3	307 76.0	17 85.0	10 76.9	1 100.0	9 75.0	33 70.2	---	14 66.7	45 66.2	15 83.3	38 69.1	226 64.2	930 70.
Ruled Out	18 5.9	25 6.2	1 5.0	2 15.4	---	---	1 2.1	1 100.0	2 9.5	3 4.4	---	7 12.7	35 9.9	95 7.
Uncertain	65 21.2	63 15.6	2 10.0	1 7.7	---	3 25.0	9 19.1	---	5 23.8	13 19.1	3 16.7	10 18.2	78 22.2	252 19.
No Follow-up	8 2.6	9 2.2	---	---	---	---	4 8.5	---	---	7 10.3	---	---	13 3.7	41 3.
Total	306 23.2	404 30.7	20 1.5	13 1.0	1 0.0	12 0.9	47 3.6	1 0.0	21 1.6	68 5.2	18 1.4	55 4.2	352 26.7	1318

Table 4-18

Seriousness of Injuries by Case Status

Case Status	Degree of Seriousness								Total
	Not Serious		Serious		Fatal		Unknown		
Abuse Confirmed	485	66.8	237	75.0	16	66.6	50	56.8	788
Ruled Out	72	9.9	5	1.5	1	4.1	10	11.3	88
Uncertain	150	20.6	63	19.9	5	20.8	21	23.8	239
No Follow-up	19	2.6	11	3.4	2	8.3	7	7.9	39
Total	726	62.9	316	27.3	24	2.1	88	7.6	1154

X^2 = 35.222 significant under .001 9df

According to the data in Table 4-18, there was a significant association between the degree of seriousness and the designated case status. While there were relatively few cases in the no follow-up category, 13 or 1.1 percent (serious and fatal) are far too many in this status category.*

Seriousness of Injuries by Sex and Case Status

We found no significant association between seriousness and sex by case status. The percentage of each sex falling within each category of seriousness closely approximated the sex ratio of the total sample. While a slightly higher percentage of males fell in the serious and unknown categories, a higher percentage of females was fatally injuried. These data are presented in Table 4-19.

*The reader is reminded that the data were collected in 1973 from records ending in 1972. Thus, no follow-up did not represent a temporary status, at least where state records were concerned.

Table 4-19

Seriousness and Sex of Child by Case Status

Sex	Abuse Confirmed: Not Serious	Serious	Fatal	Unknown	Total	Abuse Ruled Out: Not Serious	Serious	Fatal	Unknown	Total
Male	250 52.2	132 55.9	5 33.3	26 53.1	413 53.0	40 56.3	3 60.0	------	9 90.0	52 59.8
Female	229 47.8	104 44.1	10 66.7	23 46.9	366 47.0	31 43.7	2 40.0	1 100.0	1 10.0	35 40.2
Total	479 61.5	236 30.3	15 1.9	49 6.3	779 ----	71 81.6	5 5.7	1 1.1	10 11.5	87 ----
	Uncertain					No Follow-up				
Male	86 57.3	32 50.8	3 60.0	9 45.0	130 54.4	14 73.7	6 54.5	2 100.0	4 57.1	26 66.7
Female	64 42.7	31 49.2	2 40.0	11 55.0	109 45.6	5 26.3	5 45.5	--------	3 42.9	13 33.3
Total	150 62.8	63 26.4	5 2.1	20 8.4	239 ----	19 48.7	11 28.2	2 5.1	7 17.9	39 ----

Seriousness of Injuries by Race and Case Status

Black children were more seriously injured than were white children in the present study. We found that 65.6 percent of the cases involving white children were not serious to 24.9 percent serious, and 1.9 percent fatal (N=756). For black children (N=255), 53.3 percent were not serious, 37.3 percent serious, and 2.7 percent fatal.

Seriousness of injuries by race and case status is presented in Table 4-20. Of the serious cases involving white children (N=188), 136 or 72.3 percent were confirmed. Nine or 64.3 percent of the fatalities were judged to have resulted from abuse. Of the 95 serious cases involving black children, 73 or 76.8 percent represented confirmed abuse. Four or 57.1 percent of the fatalities resulted from abusive acts.

Seriousness of Injuries by Age and Case Status

Approximately thirty-six percent of the children in the present study were under three years of age. These youngest aged children undoubtedly suffered most seriously. Of the 411 children under the age of three, 190 or 46.2 percent were seriously injured (excluding 15 fatality cases). Of the 190 children who were seriously injured, confirmed abuse was the designated case status in 113 cases or 68.9 percent. In 4 cases (2.1 percent) abuse was ruled out. Uncertainty was the disposition in 48 cases or 25.3 percent and no follow-up was indicated for 7 cases or 3.7 percent. There were 357 children for which we had relevant data between three and eight years of age. Seventy-seven or 21.6 percent of these children were seriously injured. Of the 77 children, 59 or 76.6 percent were confirmed abuse cases; or 1.3 percent was ruled out; 13 or 16.9 percent were classified as uncertain; and 4 or 5.2 percent

Table 4-20

Seriousness and Race by Case Status

Race	Abuse Confirmed					Ruled Out				
	Not Serious	Serious	Fatal	Unknown	Total	Not Serious	Serious	Fatal	Unknown	Total
White	307 (64.0) 75.4	136 (28.3) 64.2	9 (1.9) 69.2	28 (5.8) 71.8	480 71.5	61 (81.3) 84.7	4 (5.3) 80.0	1 (1.3) 100.0	9 (12.0) 90.0	75 85.2
Black	94 (51.9) 23.1	73 (40.3 34.4	4 (2.2) 30.8	10 (5.5) 25.6	181 27.0	11 (84.6) 15.3	1 (7.7) 20.0	----------	1 (7.7) 10.0	13 14.8
Other	2 (40.0) 0.5	2 (40.0) 0.9	----------	1(20.0) 2.6	5 0.7	----------	----------	----------	----------	--------
Unknown	4(100.0) 1.0	----------	----------	----------	--4 ----	----------	----------	----------	----------	--------
Total	407 60.7 ----	211 31.4 ---	13 1.9 ----	39 5.8 ----	671 100.0	72 81.8 ----	5 5.7 ----	1 1.1 -----	10 11.4 ----	88 100.00

Race	Uncertain					No Follow-up				
White	117 (66.5)78.5	40 (22.7) 63.5	3 (1.7) 60.0	16 (9.1) 80.0	176 74.26	11 (44.0) 57.9	8(32.0) 72.7	1 (4.0) 50.0	5 (20.0) 71.4	25 64.1
Black	23 (48.9)15.4	18 (38.3) 28.6	2 (4.3) 40.0	4 (8.5) 20.0	47 19.8	8 (57.1) 42.1	3(21.4) 27.3	1 (7.1) 50.0	2 (14.3) 28.6	14 35.9
Other	2 (66.6) 1.3	1 (33.3) 1.6	----------	----------	3 1.26	----------	----------	----------	----------	--------
Unknown	7 (63.6) 4.7	4 (36.4) 6.3	----------	----------	11 4.6	----------	----------	----------	----------	--------
Total	149 -62.8 ----	63 26.6 ----	5 2.1 -----	20 8.4 ----	237 100.0	19- 48.7 -----	11 28.2 ----	2 5.1 ----	7 17.9 ----	39 100.0

Percentages within parentheses are based on row totals.

were not followed-up. Noting the age group, eight but less than twelve (N=171), only 18 or 10.5 percent were seriously injured. Of those seriously injured, 16 or 88.8 percent were confirmed abuse cases; none of these cases was ruled out, and in only 2 or 11.2 percent of the cases was uncertainty the disposition. This discussion indicates that the youngest aged children sustained the most serious injuries but their injuries were least likely confirmed.*

A significant negative association was found between the degree of seriousness and age in the abuse confirmed, ruled out, and uncertain status categories.

Other Children Involved in The Incident

In 21.5 percent of the cases, other children had previously been involved in abusive incidents.** This compares to 26.0 percent of the sample cohort families in the Brandeis study (Gil: p. 16). Siblings of the injured children were injured in 21.7 percent of the current incidents. These findings, along with the high percentage of cases in which the reported children had been abused in prior incidents, indicate a high recidivism rate. See Table 4-22 for the complete distribution of other children involved in previous and the current incident by case status.

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*This discussion is based on cross tabulation of data presented in Table 4-21.

**Alabama and Tennessee not included in this discussion. Additionally, many families were one-child families.

Table 4-21

Seriousness of Injuries by Age and Case Status

Age	Seriousness of Injuries																							
	Not Serious								Serious								Fatal							
	AC		RO		UN		NF		AC		RO		UN		NF		AC		RO		UN		NF	
< 1 year	34	7.1	7	9.7	12	8.2	1	5.3	70	30.3	4	80.0	26	41.3	5	45.5	6	40.0	1	100.0	2	40.0	1	50.0
1 year < 2	33	6.9	6	8.3	7	4.8	1	5.3	35	15.2	-	----	11	17.5	1	9.1	2	13.3	-	-----	-	----	-	----
2 years < 3	49	10.3	6	8.3	14	9.5	2	10.5	26	11.3	-	----	11	17.5	1	9.1	1	6.7	-	-----	1	20.0	1	50.0
3 years < 6	97	20.3	17	23.6	38	25.9	3	15.8	42	18.2	1	20.0	11	17.5	3	27.3	5	33.3	-	-----	1	20.0	-	----
6 years < 8	61	12.8	10	13.9	16	10.9	6	31.6	17	7.4	-	----	2	3.2	1	9.1	-	----	-	-----	-	----	-	----
8 years < 10	53	11.1	7	9.7	18	12.2	1	5.3	11	4.8	-	----	2	3.2	-	----	-	----	-	-----	1	20.0	-	----
10 years < 12	35	7.3	8	11.1	13	8.8	2	10.5	5	2.2	-	----	-	----	-	----	-	----	-	----	-	----	-	----
12 years < 14	50	10.5	3	4.2	10	6.8	-	----	13	5.6	-	----	-	----	-	----	1	6.7	-	-----	-	----	-	----
14 years < 18	65	13.6	8	11.1	19	12.9	3	15.8	11	4.8	-	----	-	----	-	----	-	----	-	-----	-	----	-	----
18 and over	--	----	------		--	----	-	----	1	0.4	-	----	-	----	-	----	-	----	-	-----	-	----	-	----
Total	477	66.7	72	10.0	147	20.5	19	2.7	231	74.5	5	1.6	63	20.3	11	3.6	15	65.2	1	4.3	5	21.7	2	8.7

Age	Seriousness of Injuries							
	Unknown							
	AC		RO		UN		NF	
< 1 year	4	8.3	-	----	6	30.0	1	14.3
1 year < 2	4	8.3	2	20.0	3	15.0	-	----
2 years < 3	8	16.7	3	30.0	1	5.0	2	28.6
3 years < 6	12	25.0	3	30.0	4	20.0	2	28.6
6 years < 8	4	8.3	1	10.0	-	----	-	----
8 years < 10	5	10.4	-	----	1	5.0	-	----
10 years < 12	6	12.5	-	----	1	5.0	2	28.6
12 years < 14	2	4.2	-	----	3	15.0	-	----
14 years < 18	3	6.3	1	10.0	1	15.0	-	----
18 and over	-	----	-	----	-	----	-	----
Total	48	56.5	10	11.8	20	23.5	7	8.2

Statistics by Case Status:

Abuse Confirmed
X^2 = 128.221 significant under .001 27df
R (Correlation) = -0.090 significant at .013

Ruled Out
X^2 = 36.389 significant at .05 24df

Uncertain
X^2 = 78.744 significant under .001 32df
R (correlation) = -0.144 significant at .027

Table 4-22

Other Children Involved in Abusive Incidents*

	Children Previously Involved								Children Involved in current Incident							
	Yes		No		Unknown		Total		Yes		No		Unknown		Total	
Abuse Confirmed	120	74.0	185	65.8	207	66.5	512	67.9	105	64.8	307	67.6	92	70.7	504	67.6
Ruled Out	12	7.4	34	12.0	17	5.4	63	8.3	19	11.7	38	8.3	7	5.3	64	8.6
Un-certain	21	12.9	56	19.9	70	22.5	147	19.4	24	14.8	95	20.9	26	20.0	145	19.4
No Follow-up	9	5.5	6	2.1	17	5.4	32	4.2	14	8.6	14	3.0	5	3.8	33	4.4
Total	162	21.5	281	37.2	311	41.2	754	----	162	21.7	454	60.9	130	17.4	746	----

*Alabama and Tennessee not included.

Medical Verification of Injuries

Of 1071 cases, 617 or 57.6 percent were seen by a physician subsequent to the alleged incident.* A physician was not sought for medical verification of injuries in 290 cases (27.0 percent).

According to Table 4-23, there was a significant association between medical verification and case status. Cases for which medical assistance was sought tended to be confirmed as abuse more often than when medical assistance was not sought or it was unknown. Similarly, cases for which medical assistance was sought were least likely to be ruled out or deemed uncertain.

The highest percentage in the no follow-up category, however, was for cases for which medical verification was obtained.**

Treatment of Injuries

In over thirty percent of the cases (N=953) for which we were able to obtain relevant information, it was determined that no medical treatment was given. In 181 cases or 18.9 percent, some medical treatment was given. Hospitalization was required for 245 children (25.7 percent).***

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*Since the states' records did not systematically indicate medical verification of injuries as such we used the information concerning whether or not the children were seen by a physician. Thus, if a child was seen by a physician, whether injuries were verified or not, the case was considered medically verified.

**Most of the States in Region IV are characterized by poorly coordinated and uncooperative agency-medical constituent relationships. The follow-up relationship is negligible. See Johnson, pp. 89-91.

***A more detailed description of extent of treatment and length of hospitalization was not possible. None of the states' central registries contain this information. In reporting these results, we recognize this limitation.

Table 4-23

Medical Verification of Injuries by Case Status*

Case Status	Have Injuries been Medically Verified?						Total
	Yes		No		Unknown		
Abuse Confirmed	477	77.3	187	64.4	104	63.4	768
Ruled Out	23	3.7	48	16.5	17	10.3	88
Uncertain	93	15.0	53	18.2	40	24.3	186
No Follow-up	24	3.8	2	0.6	3	1.8	29
Total	617	57.6	290	27.0	164	15.3	1071

*Alabama not included in this table

X^2 = 61.756 significant under .001 6df

A significant association was found between treatment rendered and case disposition. See Table 4-24.

Official Involvement and Decisions Subsequent to the Incident

Agency Involvement

The public welfare agency was, by far, the most involved agency in reported abuse cases-- 1132 cases or 96.6 percent of the total sample. The courts were involved in 530 or 45.2 percent of the cases, the police in 18.6 percent, and the District Attorney in 4.0 percent.

A complete distribution of agency involvement by case status is presented in Table 4-25.

Table 4-24

Treatment Rendered by Case Status

Case Status	Treatment								Total
	No Medical Treatment		Medical Treatment		Hospitalization		Unknown		
Abuse Confirmed	196	67.1	138	76.2	175	71.4	157	66.8	666
Ruled Out	47	16.0	8	4.4	8	3.2	21	8.9	84
Uncertain	46	15.7	25	13.8	55	22.4	46	19.5	172
No Follow-up	3	1.0	10	5.5	7	2.8	11	4.6	31
Total	292	30.6	181	18.9	245	25.7	235	24.6	953

*Alabama not included in this table.

X^2 = 46.298 significant under .001 9df

It is noteworthy that in cases in which the public agency was involved abuse was less often confirmed and more often ruled out than in cases in which the police or the courts were involved. However, since the above tabulation of involvement by case status is based on agencies separately while in many cases more than one agency was involved, the above observation of the differences by case status may be inappropriate, i.e., the analysis does not consider case status by combinations of agencies.

Agency Decision and Activities

Children were placed out of their homes in 438 incidents or 37.3

Table 4-25

Agency Involvement by Case Status

Case Status	Agency										Total
	Police		District Attorney		Court		Public Social Agency		Other		
Abuse Confirmed	169	77.5	35	74.4	428	80.7	778	68.7	37	71.1	1447
Ruled Out	5	2.2	-------		12	2.2	88	7.8	-------		105
Uncertain	36	16.5	10	21.2	78	14.7	228	20.1	14	26.9	366
No Follow-up	8	3.6	2	4.2	12	2.2	38	3.3	1	1.9	61
Total	218	11.0	47	2.3	530	26.7	1132	57.2	52	2.6	1979

*The N reported in this table exceeds the size of the sample due to the fact more than one agency was involved in many cases.

percent. In 128 cases or 10.9 percent, siblings of the injured child were also placed. In 903 cases (77.0 percent) services to the victims' families were offered.* Homemaker services were offered in 35 cases or 2.9 percent. In 209 cases or 17.8 percent the category other was a service rendered.**

The suspected perpetrators were indicted in 8.4 percent of the cases. They were convicted in 3.2 percent and jailed in 3.2 percent.

Agency decisions and activities by case status are presented in Table 4-26.

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*We are presently involved in research designed to determine the nature of services rendered and to determine the nature of cases and circumstances warranting specific services.

**The vast majority of the activities included in the other category was referral for psychiatric treatment. One state has legislated the mandatory psychiatric evaluation of suspected perpetrators.

Table 4-26

Agency Disposition and Activities by Case Status*

Case Status	Disposition and Activities										Total	
	Services in office/home		Homemaker services		Placement of abused child		Placement other children		Suspected perpetrator convicted		Indicted perpetrator convicted		Convicted perpetrator Jailed		Other		Unknown			
Abuse Confirmed	616	68.2	24	68.5	356	81.2	105	82.0	82	82.8	35	92.1	34	89.4	151	7.2	10	40.0	1413	73.8
Ruled Out	78	8.6	5	14.2	7	1.6	3	2.3	2	2.0	--	----	--	----	16	7.6	--	----	111	5.8
Uncertain	186	20.5	6	17.1	67	15.2	17	13.2	14	14.1	3	7.8	4	10.5	39	18.6	14	56.0	350	18.2
No Follow-up	23	2.5	--	----	8	1.8	3	2.3	1	0.1	--	----	--	----	3	1.4	1	4.0	39	2.0
Total	903	47.2	35	1.8	438	22.8	128	6.6	99	5.1	38	1.9	38	1.9	209	10.9	25	1.3	1913	----

*The N reported in this table exceeds the size of the sample due to the fact that more than one decision and/or activity was involved in many cases.

Chapter 5

PARENTS OR PARENT SUBSTITUTES OF THE INJURED CHILDREN

This section of the report is marked by an assessment of data which are probably not representative of the entire Region. Due to the vast differences in the nature and quantity of materials concerning parents or parent substitutes of the injured children reported to the individual states' central registries, we were not able to secure relevant data on the majority of the items from all of the states.

We have made notation of the states included in specific analyses. Additionally, our attempt to explore selected variables relating to parents' deviations, past experiences, and their involvement in prior abuse proved to have been a futile task. While some states reported on such factors in some cases, none of the states required the reporting of such data. Thus, we feel certain that any findings we would present in these areas would not represent a reliable picture of the existence/nonexistence of these variables.

Parents or Parent Substitutes with Whom Children Lived

In 83.1 percent of the cases the natural mother lived in the injured children's home, and in 55.9 percent of the cases the natural father was in the home. About 4.6 percent of the children lived with a stepmother and 17.9 percent lived with a stepfather. 2.1 percent of the children lived with a grandmother and 1.2 percent, a grandfather. In only 3.1 percent of the cases was no female parent or parent substitute in the home to 16.4 percent without a male parent or parent substitute. A detail distribution of the adults with whom children lived prior to the incident by case status is presented in Tables 5-1 and 5-2.

Table 5-1

Relationship To Injured Children Of Female Parents/Substitutes
With Whom Children Regularly Lived By Case Status

Case Status	Female Parents With Whom Children Lived									Total
	None Living In Family	Natural Parent	Adoptive Parent	Step-Parent	Foster Parent	Grand-Parent	Other Relative	Not Related	Relation-Ship Unknown	
Abuse Confirmed	30 81.0	648 67.1	8 61.5	41 75.9	5 62.5	21 84.0	30 76.9	7 87.5	4 33.3	794 68.3
Ruled Out	3 8.1	78 8.0	2 15.3	2 3.7	---	1 4.0	3 7.6	---	---	89 7.6
Uncertain	4 10.8	205 21.2	3 23.0	11 20.3	2 25.0	3 12.0	5 12.8	---	7 58.3	240 20.6
No Follow-up	---	34 3.5	---	---	1 12.5	---	1 2.5	1 12.5	1 8.3	38 3.2
Total	37 3.1	965 83.1	13 1.1	54 4.6	8 0.6	25 2.1	39 3.3	8 0.6	12 1.0	1161

Table 5-2

Relationship To Injured Children Of Male Parents/Substitutes
With Whom Children Regularly Lived By Case Status

Case Status	Male Parents With Whom Children Lived									Total
	None Living In Family	Natural Parent	Adoptive Parent	Step-Parent	Foster Parent	Grand Parent	Other Relative	Not Related	Relationship Unknown	
Abuse Confirmed	124 64.9	442 68.2	7 58.3	155 74.5	4 66.6	10 71.4	15 75.0	25 67.5	10 43.4	792 68.3
Ruled Out	19 9.9	53 8.1	1 8.3	11 5.2	---	1 7.1	2 10.0	2 5.4	---	89 7.6
Uncertain	46 24.0	132 20.3	4 33.3	32 15.3	1 16.6	3 21.4	2 10.0	9 24.3	11 47.8	240 20.7
No Follow-up	2 1.0	21 3.2	---	10 4.8	1 16.6	---	1 5.0	1 2.7	2 8.6	38 3.2
Total	191 16.4	648 55.9	12 1.0	208 17.9	6 0.5	14 1.2	20 1.7	37 3.2	23 1.9	1159

Noting both tables, there was a tendency for cases to be most often confirmed as abuse when children lived with stepparent, a grandparent, or other relative of either sex. In the absence of female parents or parent substitutes, a high percentage of cases were confirmed. Similarly, a high percentage was confirmed when the female adults with whom children lived were not related. On the other hand, in the absence of male parents or parent substitutes, a relatively low percentage of cases was confirmed as when the male adults were unrelated.

The relationship of the female parents or substitutes to the injured children by race is noted in Table 5-3. There was a slightly higher percentage of white natural mothers (84.0 percent) than black natural mothers (79.1 percent) living in the injured children's home. About 5.5 percent of the white children lived with a stepmother to 2.4 percent of the black children. Only 1.5 percent of the white children lived with a grandmother and 2.4 percent with other relatives; 4.7 percent of the black children lived with a grandmother and 7.1 percent with other relatives. It was quite uncommon for both white and black children to have lived with adoptive parents or in foster homes.

According to Table 5-4, 62.1 percent of the white children lived with their natural fathers to only 39.8 percent of the black children. In 9.5 percent of the cases involving white children, there was no male parent or parent substitute. This compares to 35.4 percent of the cases involving black children. About 19.3 percent of the white children lived with a stepfather to 11.8 percent of the black children.

A detail distribution of the adults with whom children lived prior to

Table 5-3

Relationship To Injured Children Of Female Parents/Substitutes With Whom Children Regularly Lived By Race And Case Status

Female Parent	White					Black					Total
	Abuse Confirmed	Ruled Out	Uncertain	No Follow-up	Total	Abuse Confirmed	Ruled Out	Uncertain	No Follow-up	Total	
None Living In Family	19 (3.9) 73.1	3 (4.0) 11.5	4 (2.2) 15.4	---	26 3.4	6 (3.3) 100.0	---	---	---	6 2.4	
Natural Parent	403 (82.9) 62.8	66 (88.0) 10.3	151 (84.8) 23.5	22 (88.0) 3.4	642 84.0	138 (76.2) 68.7	11 (84.6) 5.5	40 (85.1) 19.9	12 (92.3) 6.0	201 79.1	
Adoptive Parent	5 (1.0) 62.5	1 (1.3) 12.5	2(1.1) 25.0	---	8 1.0	2 (1.1) 50.0	1 (7.7) 25.0	1 (2.1) 25.0	---	4 1.6	
Stepparent	29 (6.0) 69.0	2 (2.7) 4.8	11(6.2) 26.2	---	42 5.5	6 (3.3) 100.0	---	---	---	6 2.4	
Foster Parent	3 (0.6) 75.0	---	---	1 (4.0) 25.0	4 0.5	---	---	2 (4.3)100.0	---	2 0.8	
Grand-Parent	9 (1.9) 75.0	1 (1.3) 8.3	2(1.1) 16.7	---	12 1.5	11 (6.1) 91.7	---	1 (2.1) 8.3	---	12 4.7	
Other Relative	13 (2.7) 72.2	2 (2.7) 11.1	2(1.1) 11.1	1 (4.0) 5.6	18 2.4	15 (8.3) 83.3	1 (7.7) 5.6	2 (4.3) 11.1	---	18 7.1	
Not Related	4 (0.8)100.0	---	---	---	4 0.5	3 (1.7) 75.0	---	---	1 (7.7) 25.0	4 1.6	
Relationship Unknown	1 (0.2) 12.5	---	6(3.4) 75.0	1 (4.0) 12.5	8 1.0	---	---	1 (2.1)100.0	---	1 0.4	
Total	486 63.6	75 9.8	178 23.3	25 3.3	764	181 71.3	13 5.1	47 18.5	13 5.1	254	

Percentages within parentheses are based on column totals.

Table 5-4

Relationship To Injured Children Of Male Parents/Substitutes With Whom Children Regularly Lived By Race And Case Status

Male Parent	White					Black					Total
	Abuse Confirmed	Ruled Out	Uncertain	No Follow-up	Total	Abuse Confirmed	Ruled Out	Uncertain	No Follow-up	Total	
Male Living In Family	40 (8.2) 54.8	11 (14.7) 15.1	22 (12.4) 30.1	---	73 9.5	57 (31.5) 63.3	8 (61.5) 8.9	23 (48.9) 25.6	2 (15.4) 2.2	90	35.4
Natural Parent	302 (62.0) 63.6	50 (66.7) 10.5	110 (61.8) 23.2	13 (52.0) 2.7	475 62.1	78 (43.1) 77.2	2 (15.4) 2.0	13 (27.7) 12.9	8 (61.5) 7.9	101	39.8
Adoptive Parent	4 (0.8) 50.0	1 (1.3) 12.5	3 (1.7) 37.5	---	8 1.0	2 (1.1) 66.7	---	1 (2.1) 33.3	---	3	1.2
Stepparent	103 (21.1) 69.6	11 (14.7) 7.4	25 (14.0) 16.9	9 (36.0) 6.1	148 19.3	26 (14.2) 86.7	---	3 (6.4) 10.0	1 (7.7) 3.3	30	11.8
Foster Parent	2 (0.4) 66.7	---	---	1 (4.0) 33.3	3 0.4	---	---	1 (2.1)100.0	---	1	0.4
Grand-Parent	3 (0.6) 60.0	---	2 (1.1) 40.0	---	5 0.7	6 (3.3) 85.7	1 (7.7) 14.3	---	---	7	2.8
Other Relative	12 (2.5) 80.0	1 (1.3) 6.7	1 (0.6) 6.7	1 (4.0) 6.7	15 2.0	2 (1.1) 50.0	1 (7.7) 25.0	1 (2.1) 25.0	---	4	1.6
Not Related	16 (3.3) 61.5	1 (1.3) 3.8	8 (4.5) 30.8	1 (4.0) 3.8	26 3.4	7 (3.9) 77.8	1 (7.7) 11.1	1 (2.1) 11.1	---	9	3.5
Relationship Unknown	5 (1.0) 41.7	---	7 (3.9) 58.3	---	12 1.6	3 (1.7) 33.3	---	4 (8.5) 44.4	2 (15.4) 22.2	9	3.5
Total	487 63.7	75 9.8	178 23.3	25 3.3	765	181 71.3	13 5.1	47 18.5	13 5.1	254	

Percentages within parentheses are based on column totals

the injuries by race and case status is presented in Tables 5-3 and 5-4.*

Marital Status of Parents or Parent Substitutes

The vast majority of the parents or parent substitutes were living with their spouse--approximately 77.4 percent of the females to 85.4 percent of the males. There were 4.8 percent of the females to 0.5 percent of the males who were single never married. Fewer blacks than whites were living with their spouse, and more blacks were single never married. A complete distribution of marital status of parents or parent substitutes by case status is presented in Tables 5-5 and 5-6.

According to Tables 5-5, 5-6 the lowest percentage of confirmed cases by the marital status of female parents or parent substitutes was for the females who were separated from their spouses. For the males, the lowest percentage of confirmed cases was for the divorced. The highest percentage of confirmed cases was when the marital status was unknown.

Age of Parents or Parent Substitutes

The majority of the parents of the injured children was over the age of 25. Abuse was most often confirmed when parents were over the age of 25. The exception to this was a lower percentage confirmed for females between age 41 and 50 and for males between 61 and 70. See Tables 5-7 and 5-8 for a complete age distribution by case status.

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*The categories, Other and Unknown for race classification, have been excluded from these analyses.

Table 5-5

Marital Status Of Female Parents Or Parent Substitutes By Case Status

Case Status	Marital Status							
	Single	Separated	Divorced	Deserted	Widowed	Living With Spouse	Unknown	Total
Abuse Confirmed	29 55.8	23 46.9	16 61.5	4 66.6	6 66.6	569 68.5	76 75.2	723 67.3
Ruled Out	9 17.3	6 12.2	4 15.3	---	---	62 7.5	5 5.0	86 8.0
Uncertain	12 23.0	20 40.8	6 23.1	2 33.3	2 22.2	172 20.6	18 17.8	232 21.6
No Follow-up	2 3.8	---	---	---	1 11.1	28 3.3	2 1.9	33 3.0
Total	52 4.8	49 4.6	26 2.4	6 0.5	9 0.8	831 77.4	101 9.4	1074

Table 5-6

Marital Status Of Male Parents Or Parent Substitutes By Case Status

Case Status	Marital Status							
	Single	Separated	Divorced	Deserted	Widowed	Living With Spouse	Unknown	Total
Abuse Confirmed	3 60.0	12 66.6	5 41.6	2 100.0	1 50.0	571 68.5	93 90.3	687 70.4
Ruled Out	---	1 5.6	4 33.3	---	---	63 7.6	1 0.9	69 7.1
Uncertain	2 40.0	5 27.8	3 25.0	---	1 50.0	172 20.6	7 6.8	190 19.5
No Follow-up	---	---	---	---	---	27 3.2	2 1.9	29 3.0
Total	5 0.5	18 1.8	12 1.2	2 0.2	2 0.2	833 85.4	103 10.6	975

Table 5-7

Age Of Female Parents Or Parent Substitutes
By Case Status

Case Status	Age of Parents									Total
	20 & Under	21-25	26-30	31-35	36-40	41-50	51-60	61-70	71 & Over	
Abuse Confirmed	81 65.9	128 68.8	88 75.2	82 78.8	37 71.1	28 63.6	9 81.8	6 85.7	1 50.0	460 71.2
Ruled Out	10 8.1	18 9.7	6 5.1	4 3.8	5 9.6	7 15.9	---	1 14.2	---	51 7.9
Uncertain	30 24.3	36 19.3	22 18.8	17 16.3	7 13.4	8 18.2	2 18.1	---	1 50.0	123 19.0
No Follow-up	2 1.6	4 2.1	1 0.8	1 1.0	3 5.8	1 2.2	---	---	---	12 1.9
Total	123 19.0	186 23.8	117 18.1	104 16.1	52 8.0	44 6.8	11 1.7	7 1.1	2 0.3	646
Cumulative	19.0	47.8	65.9	82.0	90.0	96.8	98.5	99.6	99.9	

Table 5-8

Age Of Male Parents Or Parent Substitutes
By Case Status

Case Status	Age of Parents									Total	
	20 & Under	21-25	26-30	31-35	36-40	41-50	51-60	61-70	71 & Over		
Abuse Confirmed	32 68.1	88 69.8	73 74.5	64 71.1	76 76.7	65 90.2	21 72.4	4 57.1	1 100.0	424	74.5
Ruled Out	---	6 4.8	5 5.1	6 6.6	7 7.1	4 5.6	---	1 14.2	---	29	5.1
Uncertain	12 25.5	29 23.0	15 15.3	19 21.1	13 13.1	3 4.1	7 24.1	2 28.6	---	100	17.5
No Folow-up	3 6.3	3 2.3	5 5.1	1 1.1	3 3.0	---	1 3.4	---	---	16	2.8
Total Cumulative	47 8.2 8.2	126 22.1 30.3	98 17.2 47.5	90 15.8 63.3	99 17.4 80.7	72 12.7 93.4	29 5.1 98.5	7 1.2 99.7	1 0.2 99.9	569	

Educational Level of Parents or Parent Substitutes

The educational level of mothers or mother substitutes in the present study was low but slightly higher than that found in the Brandeis study--54.8 percent and 69.3 percent with less than a high school education. Of 214 mothers, 14.7 percent were high school graduates. Only two mothers finished vocational or technical school and one completed college. Of the 217 fathers, only 11.7 percent were high school graduates and 2.4 percent completed college or had graduate degrees. This compares to 18.45 percent and 1.85 percent, respectively, in the Gil study (p. 12).

Tables 5-9 and 5-10 present the educational level of parents or parent substitutes by case status. The most obvious observation from both tables is that at both extremes of the educational continuum cases were more often confirmed as abuse than in cases where the parents' educational level was middle range.

Customary Occupation of Parents or Parent Substitutes

The occupational status of the parents or parent substitutes reflected their low educational level. Of the 295 females for which we had data, 32.9 percent did not work outside the home. The occupational status of 51.1 percent was unknown. The occupational status of 57.2 percent of the males (N=236) was unknown. Only 0.8 percent held professional jobs; 0.4 percent were farm managers; and 1.7 percent were manager or official proprietors. See Tables 5-11 and 5-12 for the complete distribution of customary occupational status by case disposition.

Employment Status of Parents or Parent Substitutes

Employment status by case disposition is presented in Tables 5-13 and

Table 5-9

Educational Level Of Mothers Or Mother Substitutes By Case Status*

Case Status	Educational Level									Total
	Never Attended School	< 9 Grades	9 To < 12 Grades	High School Graduate	Some College Or Technical School	Completed Vocational Technical School	Completed College	Graduate Degree	Unknown	
Abuse Confirmed	2 100.0	31 60.8	37 56.1	17 53.1	3 37.5	2 100.0	1 100.0	---	41 74.5	134 61.8
Ruled Out	---	8 15.7	12 18.2	7 21.9	1 12.5	---	---	---	3 5.5	31 14.3
Uncertain	---	9 17.6	14 21.2	7 21.9	3 37.5	---	---	---	11 20.0	44 20.3
No Follow-up	---	3 5.9	3 4.5	1 3.1	1 12.5	---	---	---	---	8 3.6
Total	2 0.9	51 23.5	66 30.4	32 14.7	8 3.7	2 0.9	1 0.5	---	55 25.3	217
Cumulative	0.9	24.4	54.8	69.5	73.2	74.1	74.6		99.9	

*Includes data from North and South Carolina only.

Table 5-10

Educational Level Of Fathers Or Father Substitutes By Case Status*

Case Status	Educational Level									Total
	Never Attended School	< 9 Grades	9 To < 12 Grades	High School Graduate	Some College Or Technical School	Completed Vocational Technical School	Completed College	Graduate Degree	Unknown	
Abuse Confirmed	1 100.0	41 56.9	18 40.9	17 68.0	6 75.0	---	3 75.0	1 100.0	43 74.1	130 60.7
Ruled Out	---	10 13.9	9 20.5	1 4.0	---	---	---	---	2 3.4	22 10.3
Uncertain	---	19 26.4	15 34.1	6 24.0	2 25.0	---	---	---	12 20.7	54 25.2
No Follow-up	---	2 2.8	2 4.5	1 4.0	---	1 100.0	1 25.0	---	1 1.7	8 3.7
Total	1 0.5	72 33.6	44 20.6	25 11.7	8 3.7	1 0.5	4 1.9	1 0.5	58 27.0	214
Cumulative	0.5	34.1	54.7	66.4	70.1	70.6	72.5	73.0	100.0	

*Includes data from North and South Carolina only.

Table 5-11

Customary Occupation of Mothers or Mother Substitutes by Case Status*

Case Status	Customary Occupation									Total
	Manager Official Proprietor	Clerical Kindred	Sales Worker	Operative/ Kindred	Private household worker	Service Worker excl. private household	Laborer excl. farm	Housekeeping own home	Unknown	
Abuse Confirmed	1 100.	1 50.0	1 100.0	6 54.5	5 100.0	9 52.9	6 66.7	64 66.0	83 54.6	176 59.6
Ruled Out	---	1 50.0	---	---	---	2 11.7	---	9 9.3	13 8.6	25 8.5
Uncertain	---	---	---	5 45.5	---	6 35.3	3 33.3	22 22.7	51 33.6	87 29.5
No Follow-up	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	2 2.1	5 3.2	7 2.4
Total	1 0.3	2 0.8	1 0.3	11 3.7	5 1.7	17 5.8	9 3.1	97 32.9	152 51.5	295

*Includes data from Kentucky and South Carolina only.

Table 5-12

Customary Occupation of Fathers or Father Substitutes by Case Status*

Case Status	Customary Occupation										
	Professional Technical Kindred Worker	Farm Farm Manager	Manager Official Proprietor	Sales Worker	Craftsman Foreman Kindred	Operative/ Kindred	Service Worker excl. private household	Farm Laborer/ foreman	Laborer excl. farm	Unknown	Total
Abuse Confirmed	1 50.0	1 100.0	3 75.0	1 100.0	8 66.7	18 81.8	3 60.0	6 66.7	35 77.8	72 53.3	148 62.7
Ruled Out	---	--	1 25.0	---	1 8.3	---	---	1 11.1	1 2.2	13 9.6	17 7.2
Uncertain	1 50.0	--	---	---	2 16.7	4 18.2	2 40.0	2 22.2	9 20.0	44 32.6	64 27.1
No Follow-up	---	--	---	---	1 8.3	---	---	---	---	6 4.4	7 3.0
Total	2 0.8	1 0.4	4 1.7	1 0.4	12 5.1	22 9.3	5 2.1	9 3.8	45 19.1	135 57.2	236

*Includes data from Kentucky and South Carolina only.

5-14. Of 506 female parents, 21.3 percent were employed outside the home; 11.1 percent were unemployed but available for work. Of the 406 male parents, 60.8 percent were employed; 5.7 percent were unemployed.* The employment status was unknown for 31.2 percent of the mothers and 29.8 percent of the fathers.

Of initial interest is the relatively low percent of confirmed abuse cases where parents were unemployed. Similarly, the highest percentage of cases in which abuse was ruled out or deemed uncertain was in the unemployed category for fathers or father substitutes but in the employed category for mothers or mother substitutes.

Annual Income of Parents or Parent Substitutes

Of 193 cases--Kentucky and North Carolina only--38.9 percent of the children were from families with an annual income of less than $4,000. This compares to 41.7 percent found in the Brandeis study. 32.7 percent of the families had an income of $4,000 but less than $7,000, and 24.9 percent had an income between $7,000 and $9,999. Only 3.6 percent had an income over $10,000.

A complete income distribution by case status is presented in Table 5-15. There appears to be no pattern in case disposition by annual family income. Of particular interest, however, are the extremely low percentage of cases confirmed as abuse, and high percent ruled out for some of the

*Due to lack of employment information recorded at the central registries, we were unable to determine the length of employment and whether employment was full or parttime. The above figures are based on employment status at the time of the incident in Kentucky and North and South Carolina only.

Table 5-13

Employment Status of Female Parents or Parent Substitutes by Case Status*

Case Status	Employment Status										Total	
	Retired		Permanently disabled		Temporarily disabled		Unemployed		Employed		Housekeeping In Own Home		Unknown			
Abuse Confirmed	-------		1	100.	4	66.7	27	48.2	44	40.7	99	55.9	88	55.7	263	52.0
Ruled Out	-------		-------		-------		11	19.6	23	21.3	22	12.4	14	8.8	70	13.8
Uncertain	-------		-------		2	33.3	16	28.6	38	35.2	45	25.4	50	31.6	151	29.8
No Follow-up	-------		-------		-------		2	3.6	3	2.8	11	6.2	6	3.8	22	4.3
Total	-------		1	0.2	6	1.2	56	11.1	108	21.3	177	35.0	158	31.2	506	-----

*Includes data from Kentucky and North and South Carolina only.

Table 5-14

Employment Status of Male Parents or Parent Substitutes by Case Status*

Case Status	Employment Status							Total	
	Retired	Permanently disabled	Temporarily disabled	Unemployed	Employed	Housekeeping In Own Home	Unknown		
Abuse Confirmed	2 100.	3 75.0	4 57.1	7 30.4	158 64.0	1 50.0	64 52.9	239	58.8
Ruled Out	------	-------	1 14.3	8 34.8	13 5.3	-----	12 9.9	34	8.4
Uncertain	------	-------	2 28.6	8 34.8	68 27.5	1 50.0	35 28.9	114	28.1
No Follow up	------	1 25.0	-------	-------	8 3.2	-----	10 8.3	19	4.7
Total	2 0.5	4 1.0	7 1.7	23 5.7	247 60.8	2 0.5	121 29.8	406	-----

*Includes data from Kentucky and North and South Carolina only.

income categories. Most noticeably are the two extreme income groups with 33.3 percent confirmed and 44.4 percent ruled out in families with income below $1,000 (N=9), and 14.3 percent confirmed and 42.8 percent ruled out in families with income above $10,000 (N=7).

Sources of Income of Parents or Parent Substitutes

The main source of income for families was employment of family members (63.4 percent). Only 7.3 percent of the families were receiving AFDC grants; another 2.5 percent were receiving other public assistance grants. These findings are at variance with those of the Gil study--about 36.6 percent received AFDC grants and 3.2 percent other public assistance (p. 13). For 25.3 percent of the families, the source of income was unknown. It's highly unlikely, however, that many AFDC recipients would be incorporated in the unknown category since this is knowledge generally known by public welfare workers.

See Table 5-16 for the tabulation of sources of income by case status.

Number of Children in the Families

The average number of children in the injured children's families was 2.826. The number of children per family by case status is presented in Table 5-17. The size of the families in the present study was considerably smaller than the families in Gil's study (p. 14). In 408 cases or 73.1 percent there were less than four children; this compares to 56.2 percent found by Gil. Noting confirmed abuse cases only, there were 267 or 72.8 percent of the cases in which there were fewer than four children.

Table 5-15

Annual Income Of Parents Or Parent Substitutes By Case Status*

Case Status	Annual Income											Total
	< 1,000	1,000-1,999	2,000-2,999	3,000-3,999	4,000-4,999	5,000-5,999	6,000-6,999	7,000-7,999	8,000-8,999	9,000-9,999	10,000-14,999	
Abuse Confirmed	3 33.3	16 64.0	10 45.5	9 47.3	16 61.5	7 43.8	8 38.1	5 29.4	7 70.0	12 57.1	1 14.3	94 48.7
Ruled Out	4 44.4	4 16.0	2 9.1	4 21.1	7 26.9	6 37.5	7 33.3	1 5.9	1 10.0	3 14.3	3 42.8	42 21.8
Uncertain	1 11.1	5 20.0	7 31.8	4 21.1	2 7.7	3 18.8	6 28.6	9 52.9	1 10.0	6 28.6	2 28.6	46 23.8
No Follow-up	1 11.1	---	3 13.6	2 10.5	1 3.8	---	---	2 11.8	1 10.0	---	1 14.3	11 5.7
Total	9 4.7	25 13.0	22 11.4	19 9.8	26 13.5	16 8.3	21 10.9	17 8.8	10 5.2	21 10.9	7 3.6	193
Cumulative	4.7	17.7	29.1	38.9	52.4	60.7	71.6	80.4	85.6	96.5	100.1	

*Includes data from North Carolina and Kentucky only.

Table 5-16

Sources Of Income Of Parents Or
Parent Substitutes By Case Status*

Case Status	Source of Income								Total
	Employment Of Family Members	Other Members Of Household	Relatives Outside Household	AFDC	Other Public Assistance	Social Security	Other	Unknown	
Abuse Confirmed	196 56.1	1 100.0	2 66.7	19 47.5	7 50.0	1 100.0	2 66.7	70 50.4	298 54.2
Ruled Out	51 14.6	---	---	10 25.0	2 14.3	---	---	20 14.4	83 15.1
Uncertain	85 24.4	---	1 33.3	8 20.0	5 35.7	---	---	44 31.6	143 26.0
No Follow-up	17 4.9	---	---	3 7.5	---	---	1 33.3	5 3.6	26 4.7
Total	349 63.4	1 0.2	3 0.5	40 7.3	14 2.5	1 0.2	3 0.5	139 25.3	550

*Includes data from Kentucky, North and South Carolina only.

Table 5-17

Number Of Children In The Families
By Case Status*

Case Status	Number of Children in Family											Total
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	
Abuse Confirmed	81 (57.0) 22.1	97 (67.4) 26.4	89 (72.9) 24.3	46 (63.1) 12.5	20 (69.0) 5.5	13 (61.9) 3.5	13 (81.3) 3.5	4 (80.0) 1.0	1 (50.0) .3	3 (100.0) .8		367
Ruled Out	21 (14.8) 35.6	16 (11.1) 27.1	10 (8.2) 16.9	6 (8.2) 10.2	4 (13.8) 6.8	1 (4.8) 1.7	1 (6.2) 1.7	---	---	---	---	59
Uncertain	36 (25.4) 33.3	24 (16.6) 22.2	20 (16.4) 18.5	18 (24.6) 16.7	4 (13.8) 3.7	1 (4.8) 0.9	2 (12.5) 1.8	1 (20.0) 0.9	1 (50.0) 0.9	---	1 (100.0) 0.9	108
No Follow-up	4 (2.8) 16.6	7 (4.9) 29.2	3 (2.5) 12.5	3 (4.1) 12.5	1 (3.4) 4.2	6 (28.6) 25.0	---	---	---	---	---	24
Total Percentage Cumulative	142 25.4 25.4	144 25.8 51.2	122 21.9 73.1	73 13.1 86.2	29 5.1 91.3	21 3.8 95.1	16 2.9 98.0	5 .9 98.9	2 .4 99.3	3 .5 99.8	1 .2 100.0	558

*Alabama and Tennessee not included. Column totals within parentheses.

Chapter 6

THE PERPETRATORS

Identity of Perpetrators

There were 1,271 perpetrators who were either suspected or established to have been involved in the injuring of the 1,172 children. Of the 1,271 perpetrators, 1,123 were adjudged the main perpetrator; in 145 cases there was a second, and in 3 cases there was a third.

In 1,117 cases for which we had case disposition the identity of the perpetrator(s) was either suspected (286) or established (831). Table 6-1 is a presentation of the identity of the perpetrator by case status. There are two major aspects to be pointed out. First we found an association between the identity status of the perpetrator and the case disposition. Cases in which the identity was established were most likely to be designated as abuse than those in which perpetrators were neither known nor suspected. Similarly, fewer of these cases were ruled out, deemed uncertain, or not followed up. Second, the fact that all established perpetrators were not "conceptualized" as abusers, i.e., that the established identity cases were differentially disposed of, leads one to question again what constitutes abuse. All cases of an accidental nature were discarded before data analysis.

Relationship of Perpetrators to Injured Children

Relationship of the Main Perpetrators

Of the 1,123 main perpetrators, 42.5 percent were mothers or mother substitutes and 48.9 percent were fathers or father substitutes. These findings were in contrast to those found in the Gil study where the distribution was found to be 45.28 percent mother or mother substitute to

43.96 percent father or father substitute (p. 16). Of a total of 965 natural mothers living in injured children's homes, 397 or 41.1 percent were reportedly abusers. Of these 257 or 64.7 percent represented cases of confirmed abuse. Of 54 stepmothers, 27 or 50.0 percent were reportedly child abusers, of which 17 cases or 62.9 percent were confirmed abuse. Of 648 natural fathers, 369 or 56.9 percent were reported to have abused their children; 267 or 72.4 percent represented confirmed abuse cases. There were 208 stepfathers; 136 or 65.4 percent were involved in reported abuse incidents. Of these, 106 or 77.9 percent were confirmed abuse cases.

Table 6-1

Identity of Perpetrator by Case Status

Case Status	Identity of Perpetrator						Total
	Neither Known/ Suspected		Suspected		Established		
Abuse Confirmed	13	39.4	101	35.3	679	81.7	793
Ruled Out	6	18.1	36	12.5	47	5.7	89
Uncertain	12	36.3	133	46.5	84	10.1	229
No Follow-up	2	6.1	16	5.6	21	2.5	39
Total	33	2.8	286	24.9	831	72.2	1150

X^2 = 241.592 significant under .001 6df

According to Table 6-2, it appears that male parents or parent substitutes were more often involved in injuring children than were female parents or parent substitutes. Cases in which male parents or parent substitutes were involved were also more often classified as confirmed abuse and less often ruled out. A deviation from the above pattern involved both other mother and father substitutes. Cases in which other mother substitutes were the perpetrator were more often confirmed than when the perpetrator was either the natural mother or stepmother. Cases involving other father substitutes were less often confirmed than when the natural father or stepfather was involved.

Relationship of the Co-Perpetrators

Male parents or parent substitutes (54.5 percent) were more often than female parents or parent substitutes (33.0 percent) to be a co-perpetrator in the reported incidents. As with main perpetrators, cases involving natural and stepfathers were more often confirmed than those involving natural mothers or stepmothers. Again, cases involving other mother substitutes were more often confirmed than those in which natural mothers or stepmothers were involved, and those in which other father substitutes were involved were designated confirmed abuse less often than those in which natural fathers and stepfathers were involved. See Table 6-3 for the complete distribution by case status.

Relationship of the Main Perpetrators by Race

According to earlier discussions, male parents or parent substitutes were more often involved in injuring children than were female parents or

Table 6-2

Relationship of the Main Perpetrators to the Injured Children by Case Status

Case Status	Main Perpetrators									Total
	Natural Mother living With Child	Step Mother living With Child	Other Mother Substitute living with Child	Natural Father living With Child	Step Father living With Child	Other Father Substitute living with child	Relative Not living With Child	Other	Relationship Unknown	
Abuse Confirmed	257 64.7	17 62.9	41 77.4	267 72.4	106 77.9	30 68.1	27 62.8	29 64.4	4 44.4	778 69.3
Ruled Out	43 10.8	2 7.4	4 7.5	24 6.5	5 3.7	--------	2 4.6	2 4.4	1 11.1	83 7.4
Uncertain	86 21.6	8 29.6	7 13.2	64 17.3	17 12.5	12 27.3	14 32.6	13 28.9	4 44.4	225 20.0
No Follow-up	11 2.8	-------	1 1.8	14 3.8	8 5.8	2 4.5	-------	1 2.2	-------	37 3.2
Total	397 35.4	27 2.4	53 4.7	369 32.9	136 12.1	44 3.9	43 3.8	45 4.0	9 0.8	1123

Table 6-3

Relationship of Co-Perpetrators to the Injured Children by Case Status

Case Status	Co-Perpetrators									Total
	Natural Mother living With Child	Step Mother living With Child	Other Mother Substitute living with Child	Natural Father living With Child	Step Father living With Child	Other Father Substitute living with child	Relative Not living With Child	Other	Unknown	
Abuse Confirmed	19 55.9	1 16.7	8 100.	29 65.9	17 77.3	8 61.5	6 75.0	3 50.0	3 75.0	94 64.8
Ruled Out	1 2.9	------	------	2 4.5	1 4.5	1 7.7	-------	------	-------	5 3.4
Uncertain	9 26.5	5 83.5	-------	12 27.3	4 18.2	2 15.4	2 25.0	3 50.0	1 25.0	38 26.2
No Follow-up	5 14.7	------	-------	1 2.3	-------	2 15.4	-------	------	-------	8 5.5
Total	34 23.4	6 4.1	8 5.5	44 30.3	22 15.2	13 9.0	8 5.5	6 4.1	4 2.8	145 -----

Table 6-4

Relationship of the Main Perpetrators to the Injured Children by Race and Case Status

Perpetrator	White									Black									
	Abuse Confirmed		Ruled Out		Uncertain		No Follow-up		Total	Abuse Confirmed		Ruled Out		Uncertain		No Follow-up		Total	
Natural Mother	142	(29.6) 58.7	34	(49.3) 14.0	60	(35.7) 24.8	6	(25.0) 2.5	242 (32.7)	70	(39.5) 67.3	9	(69.2) 8.7	20	(47.6) 19.2	5	(38.5) 4.8	104	(42.4)
Step-Mother	8	(1.7) 44.4	2	(2.9) 11.1	8	(4.8) 44.4	----------		18 (2.4)	4	(2.3)100.0	----------		----------		----------		4	(1.6)
Other Mother Subetitute	14	(2.9) 66.7	2	(2.9) 9.5	4	(2.4) 19.0	1	(4.2) 4.8	21 (2.8)	23	(13.0) 82.1	2	(15.4) 7.1	3	(7.1) 10.7	----------		28	(11.4)
Natural Father	186	(38.8) 68.9	22	(31.9) 8.1	54	(32.1) 20.0	8	(33.3) 3.0	270 (36.4)	45	(25.4) 76.3	1	(7.7) 1.7	7	(16.7) 11.9	6	(46.2)10.2	59	(24.1)
Step-Father	81	(16.9) 75.7	5	(7.2) 4.7	14	(8.3) 13.1	7	(29.2) 6.5	107 (14.4)	9	(5.1) 81.8	----------		1	(2.4) 9.1	1	(7.7) 9.1	11	(4.5)
Other Father Subetitute	15	(3.1) 62.5	----------		7	(4.2) 29.2	2	(8.3) 8.3	24 (3.2)	11	(6.2) 73.3	----------		4	(9.5) 26.7	----------		15	(6.1)
Relative not living with/child	17	(3.5) 60.7	2	(2.9) 7.1	9	(5.4) 32.1	----------		28 (3.8)	6	(3.4) 60.0	----------		4	(9.5) 40.0	----------		10	(4.1)
Other	16	(3.3) 61.5	1	(1.4) 3.8	9	(5.4) 34.6	----------		26 (3.5)	9	(5.1) 69.2	1	(7.7) 7.7	2	(4.8) 15.4	1	(7.7) 7.7	13	(5.3)
Relation-unknown	1	(0.2) 20.0	1	(1.4) 20.0	3	(1.8) 60.0	----------		5 (0.8)	----------		----------		1	(2.4) 100	----------		1	(0.4)
Total	480	64.8 ----	69	9.3 ----	168	22.7 ----	24	3.2	741 ------	177	72.2 ----	13	5.3 ---	42	17.1 ---	13	5.3 ---	245	-------

*The Other and Unknown categories were excluded from these analyses. Column totals within parentheses.

parent substitutes. This finding did not persist when we held race of perpetrator constant. Of the 245 black perpetrators, 136 or 55.4 percent were female parents or parent substitutes; 85 or 34.7 percent were male parents or parent substitutes. For white parents or parent substitutes, 281 or 37.9 were female and 401 or 54.0 percent male. In relation to these findings, it is important to be reminded that black families were more often fatherless than white families. Thus, it follows that mothers in black families were more often involved in incidents of abuse than black fathers.

Sex of the Main Perpetrators

Of 1120 perpetrators, 615 or 54.7 percent were male and 505 or 44.9 percent female. In support of the findings presented in Table 6-2, the data in Table 6-5 indicate that males more than females were involved in reported incidents of abuse, and cases in which males were involved were more often classified as confirmed abuse. More cases in which females were involved were ruled out and deemed uncertain. A significant association was found to exist between sex of the perpetrator and case status.

Table 6-5

Sex Of The Main Perpetrators By Case Status

Case Status	Sex				Total
	Male		Female		
Abuse Confirmed	445	72.4	333	65.9	778
Ruled Out	31	5.0	51	10.1	82
Uncertain	114	18.5	109	21.5	223
No Follow-up	25	4.1	12	2.4	37
Total	615	54.9	505	45.1	1120

$X^2 = 19.699$ significant under .001 with 3df

Age of the Main Perpetrators

The age of the main perpetrator was not vastly different from the age distribution of the parents or parents' substitutes. This was an expected finding in view of the fact that an overwhelming majority of the perpetrators of injuries to children was a parent or substitute.

Approximately 60.0 percent of the main perpetrators were over the age of 25. As we noted in relation to parents' age, abuse was most often confirmed when perpetrators were over the age of 25. The single age category reported as perpetrators most often however, was age 21-25. See Table 6-6 for a complete age distribution of reported perpetrators by case status.

Sex of the Perpetrators by Sex of the Injured Children

Of particular interest to us was the question of whether or not particular sexed perpetrators tended to be involved in incidents with particular sexed children. With this question in mind, we noted the association between the sex of the perpetrators and the sex of the injured children. The data in Table 6-7, in which the association is noted without holding case status constant, suggest a significant association between sex of perpetrator and sex of injured child (X^2 = 9.215 significant at .01)

For the purpose of elucidating the association, we have included within the table cells the expected frequencies under the null hypothesis of no difference in the sex distribution of injured children by the sex of the perpetrators. According to these findings, there was a tendency for male perpetrators to injure male children more frequency than female children; the obverse tendency was found for female perpetrators, i.e., perpetrators tended to injure children of their own sex.

In Table 6-8 we noted the association of these variables by the designated

Table 6-6

Age of Main Perpetrators by Case Status

Case Status	Age of Perpetrators									Total	
	20 Under	21 - 25	26 - 30	31 - 35	36 - 40	41 - 50	51 - 60	61 - 70	71 - over		
Abuse Confirmed	81 65.3	136 66.0	100 74.6	88 77.2	80 72.7	71 82.6	25 71.4	13 76.4	2 66.7	596	71.9
Ruled Out	6 4.8	24 11.7	8 6.0	6 5.2	8 7.3	8 9.3	--------	2 11.8	---------	62	7.5
Uncertain	30 24.2	43 20.9	22 16.4	18 15.8	16 14.5	7 8.1	5 14.3	2 11.8	1 33.3	144	17.4
No Follow-up	7 5.6	3 1.5	4 3.0	2 1.8	6 5.5	--------	5 14.3	--------	-------	27	3.2
Total	124 15.0	206 24.8	134 16.2	114 13.8	110 13.3	86 10.4	35 4.2	17 2.1	3 0.3	829	----
Cumulative	15.0	39.8	56.0	69.8	83.1	93.5	97.7	99.8	100.1	---	----

Table 6-7

Sex Of The Perpetrators By Sex Of Injured Children*

Sex of Perpetrator	Sex of Children		Total
	Male	Female	
Male	354 (328.9)	247 (272.1)	601
Female	254 (279.1)	256 (230.9)	510
Total	608	503	1111

*Unknown category excluded. Expected frequencies for the computation of X^2 value are enclosed within parenthesis. $X^2 = 9.215$ significant under .01, 1 df.

case status. The trend in sex of perpetrator and sex of child generally persisted when the variables were noted by case designation. We found a slight significant association in the abuse confirmed and uncertain case categories.

Relationship of Perpetrators by Sex of Children

Having determined that there was a tendency for perpetrators to abuse children of their own sex more often than children of the opposite sex, we attempted to determine if this finding persisted when we considered sex of injured children by the relationship of perpetrators. The findings were interesting. For the abuse confirmed category, there was a significant association; but the interesting aspect derives from a close scrutiny of the internal cells of the table. In terms of expected frequencies of

Table 6-8

Sex Of The Perpetrators By Sex Of Injured Children By Case Status*

Sex of Perpetrator	Abuse Confirmed					Ruled Out				
	Sex of Children				Total	Sex of Children				Total
	Male		Female			Male		Female		
Male	245	55.9	164	49.5	409	21	67.7	27	52.9	48
Female	193	44.1	167	50.5	360	10	32.3	24	47.1	34
Total	438	57.0	331	43.0	769	31	37.8	51	62.2	82

X^2 = 3.066 significant at .07 1df

Perpetrator	Uncertain					No Follow-up				
	Male		Female		Total	Male		Female		Total
Male	70	61.4	50	45.9	120	18	72.0	6	50.0	24
Female	44	38.6	59	54.1	103	7	28.0	6	50.0	13
Total	114	51.1	109	48.9	223	25	67.6	12	32.4	37

X^2 = 5.237 significant under .05 1df

injuries to children--based on X^2 computations--natural mothers and stepmothers injured both sexed children almost equally. On the other hand, other mother substitutes* tended to injure female children more often than male children. Natural fathers and other father substitutes injured more males than was expected by chance. Stepfathers, however, injured slightly more females than males.

In the instance of ruled out cases, in which no association was found, natural mothers were involved in injuring female children more than males. Stepmothers and other mother substitutes were involved with both sexed children almost equally. Natural fathers again injured slightly more males than expected, while stepfathers meted out injuries to both sexes almost equally. Noting Table 6-9, the reader must be reminded of the small number of cases within the cells of the ruled out case status.

In the cases classified as uncertain, natural mothers and other mother substitutes injured slightly more females than expected, while stepmothers were involved in injuries to both sexes almost equally. Natural fathers and stepfathers injured more males and for other father substitutes there was no difference. We found no significant association for the status uncertain and no follow-up. See Table 6-9 for the tabular presentation of the above discussion.

Seriousness of Injuries by Sex of Perpetrators

We have determined in previous discussions that while males tended to inflict injuries on children more than females, cases in which male perpetrators

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*Other mother and father substitutes included adoptive and foster parents, grandparents, and common law spouse.

Table 6-9

Relationship Of Perpetrators By Sex Of Children And Case Status Abuse Confirmed

Sex Of Child	Perpetrator									Total
	Natural Mother	Step-mother	Other Mother Substitute	Natural Father	Step-father	Other Father Substitute	Relative Not Living With Child	Other	Relation-Ship Unknown	
Male	137 53.7	8 47.1	11 26.8	145 55.3	51 48.6	19 63.3	16 59.3	18 62.1	3 75.0	408 53.0
Female	118 46.3	9 52.9	30 73.2	117 44.7	54 51.4	11 36.7	11 40.7	11 37.9	1 25.0	362 47.0
Total	255 33.1	17 2.2	41 5.3	262 34.0	105 13.6	30 3.9	27 3.5	29 3.8	4 0.5	770

$X^2 = 16.415$ significant at .038 with 8df

Ruled Out

Male	22 51.2	1 50.0	2 50.0	15 65.2	3 60.0	---	2 100.0	2 100.0	1 100.0	48 58.5
Female	21 48.8	1 50.0	2 50.0	8 34.8	2 40.0	---	---	---	---	34 41.5
Total	43 52.4	2 2.4	4 4.9	23 28.0	5 6.1	---	2 2.4	2 2.4	1 1.2	82

Table 6-9--Continued

Sex Of Child	Uncertain									Total
	Natural Mother	Step-mother	Other Mother Substitute	Natural Father	Step-father	Other Father Substitute	Relative Not Living With Child	Other	Relation-Ship Unknown	
Male	37 43.0	5 62.5	2 28.6	40 62.5	10 58.8	7 58.3	7 50.0	10 76.9	2 50.0	120 53.3
Female	49 57.0	3 37.5	5 71.4	24 37.5	7 41.2	5 41.7	7 50.0	3 23.1	2 50.0	105 46.7
Total	86 38.2	8 3.6	7 3.1	64 28.4	17 7.6	12 5.3	14 6.2	13 5.8	4 1.8	225
	No Follow-up									
Male	5 45.5	---	1 100.0	10 71.4	5 62.5	2 100.0	---	1 100.0	---	24 64.9
Female	6 54.5	---	---	4 28.6	3 37.5	---	---	---	---	13 35.1
Total	11 29.7	---	1 2.7	14 37.8	8 21.6	2 5.4	---	1 2.7	---	37

were indicated were more often designated confirmed abuse. Having made this observation, we noted the differences in the severity of injuries by the sex of perpetrators. There was not an overall significant association; there was, however, a discernible pattern of interest and concern. According to Table 6-10, a higher percentage of males was involved in injuries which were not serious and in injuries in which the severity was not known. On the other hand, a slightly higher percentage of females was indicated when injuries were serious and considerably higher in fatal cases. These observations were made without respect to case status. However, this pattern generally held for the confirmed abuse cases for which a significant association was noted and those deemed uncertain. See Table 6-11 for the complete distribution by case status.

Table 6-10

Seriousness Of Injuries By Sex Of Perpetrators

Sex of Perpetrators	Seriousness of Injuries								Total
	Not Serious		Serious		Fatal		Unknown		
Male	399	56.1	144	48.8	7	33.3	59	71.1	609
Female	312	43.9	151	51.2	14	66.7	24	28.9	501
Total	711	64.0	295	26.6	21	1.9	83	7.5	1110

Table 6-11

Seriousness of Injuries by Sex of Perpetrators by Case Status

Sex of Perpetrators	Abuse Confirmed: Seriousness								Total	Ruled Out: Seriousness								Total
	Not Serious		Serious		Fatal		Unknown			Not Serious		Serious		Fatal		Unknown		
Male	286	59.8	116	50.4	5	35.7	32	68.1	439	22	32.4	1	33.3	-	-----	8	80.0	31
Female	192	40.2	114	49.6	9	64.3	15	31.9	330	46	67.6	2	66.7	1	100.0	2	20.0	51
Total	478	62.2	230	29.9	14	1.8	47	6.1	769	68	82.9	3	3.6	1	1.2	10	12.2	82

x^2 = 10.556 significant at .015 with 3df

	Uncertain									No Follow-up								
Male	78	53.4	21	40.4	2	40.0	13	68.4	114	13	68.4	6	60.0	-	-----	6	85.7	25
Female	68	46.6	31	59.6	3	60.0	6	31.6	108	6	31.6	4	40.0	1	100.0	1	14.3	12
Total	146	65.5	52	23.3	5	2.2	19	9.0	222	19	51.4	10	27:0	1	2.7	7	18.9	37

Seriousness of Injuries by the Relationship of the Perpetrators

Having established earlier in the report that the majority, approximately 80 percent of the injuries, occurred in the home; that parents or parent substitutes were most often the perpetrator; and that there was a tendency for females to have been involved in more cases of serious injuries than were male perpetrators, we attempted to note the degree of seriousness by the specific relationship of the perpetrators.

According to Table 6-12, natural mothers were responsible for more serious injuries and fatalities than any other parent or parent substitute. Of 295 serious cases for which we had relevant data, 130 or 44.1 percent were reportedly perpetrated by the natural mother. Of the 295 serious cases, 228 or 78.3 percent were confirmed abuse. Of these confirmed cases of serious injuries, natural mothers were involved in 98 or 43.0 percent, stepmothers in 2.6 percent (N=6), and other mother substitutes in 7 or 3.1 percent. Natural fathers were involved in 67 or 29.4 percent, stepfathers in 24 or 10.5 percent, and other father substitutes in 9 or 3.9 percent.

Noting the findings in Table 6-12 from the standpoint of serious injuries as a percent of total injuries perpetrated by each parent or parent substitute category, we found that while cases in which natural mothers and stepmothers were involved were less often classified as confirmed abuse, 64.6 percent and 62.9 percent, respectively, natural mothers and stepmothers were responsible for the highest percentage of confirmed cases of serious injuries and fatalities. Of 254 confirmed cases involving natural mothers, 98 or 38.5 percent were of a serious nature and 8 or 3.2 percent were fatalities. Six or 35.3 percent (17 confirmed) of the cases in which stepmothers were involved were serious and 1 or 5.9 percent was fatal. A higher percentage of cases in which other

Table 6-12

Seriousness of Injuries by Relationship of Perpetrators by Case Status

	Abuse Confirmed					Ruled Out				
Perpetrators	Not Serious	Serious	Fatal	Unknown	Total	Not Serious	Serious	Fatal	Unknown	Total
Natural Mother	137 28.6	98 43.0	8 57.1	11 22.9	254 33.0	39 57.4	1 33.3	1 100.0	2 20.0	43 52.4
Stepmother	9 1.9	6 2.6	1 7.1	1 2.1	17 2.2	2 2.9	- ----	- -----	- ----	2 2.4
Other Mother substitute	33 6.9	7 3.1	- ----	1 2.1	41 5.3	3 4.4	1 33.3	- -----	- ----	4 4.9
Natural Father	175 36.5	67 29.4	2 14.3	19 39.6	263 34.2	15 22.1	1 33.3	- -----	7 70.0	23 28.0
Stepfather	70 14.6	24 10.5	2 14.3	9 18.8	105 13.7	5 7.4	- ----	- -----	- ----	5 6.1
Other Father substitute	17 3.5	9 3.9	1 7.1	2 4.2	29 3.8	- ----	- ----	- -----	- ----	-- ----
Relative not living/child	19 4.0	6 2.6	- ----	2 4.2	27 3.5	1 1.5	- ----	- -----	1 10.0	2 2.4
Other	19 4.0	8 3.5	- ----	2 4.2	29 3.8	2 2.9	- ----	- -----	- ----	2 2.4
Relationship Unknown	--- -----	3 1.3	- ----	1 2.1	4 0.5	1 1.5	- ----	- -----	- ----	1 1.2
Total	479 62.3	228 29.6	14 1.8	48 6.2	769 100.0	68 82.9	3 3.7	1 1.2	10 12.2	82 100.0

X^2 = 38.963, significant at .029 with 24

Table 6-12--Continued

Perpetrators	Uncertain					No Follow-up				
	Not Serious	Serious	Fatal	Unknown	Total	Not Serious	Serious	Fatal	Unknown	Total
Natural Mother	52 35.6	27 50.0	- ----	6 31.6	85 38.2	6 31.6	4 40.0	- -----	1 14.3	11 29.7
Stepmother	6 4.1	1 1.9	1 20.0	- ----	8 3.6	- ----	- ----	- -----	- ----	-- ----
Other Mother substitute	3 2.1	3 5.6	1 20.0	- ----	7 3.1	- ----	- ----	1 100.0	- ----	1 2.7
Natural Father	45 30.8	9 16.7	1 20.0	9 47.4	64 28.6	8 42.1	4 40.0	- -----	2 28.6	14 37.8
Stepfather	12 8.2	5 9.3	- ----	- ----	17 7.6	3 15.8	1 10.0	- -----	4 57.1	8 21.6
Other Father substitute	8 5.5	2 3.7	1 20.0	1 5.3	12 5.4	1 5.3	1 10.0	- -----	- ----	2 5.4
Relative not living/child	7 4.8	5 9.3	- ----	2 10.5	14 6.3	- ----	- -----	- -----	- ----	-- ----
Other	12 8.2	1 1.9	- ----	- ----	13 5.8	1 5.3	- -----	- -----	- ----	1 2.7
Relationship Unknown	1 0.7	1 1.9	1 20.0	1 5.3	4 1.8	- ----	- -----	- -----	- ----	- ----
Total	146 65.2	54 24.1	5 2.2	19 8.4	224 100.0	19 51.4	10 27.0	1 2.7	7 18.9	37 100.0

X^2 = 45.693, significant at .058 with 32df.

mother substitutes were implicated was confirmed (77.6 percent). Yet, a much lower percentage of serious cases (7 or 17.0 percent) and no fatalities were noted.

Cases in which male parents or substitutes were involved were confirmed more often than those in which natural mothers or stepmothers were involved; yet, it was noted that males were responsible for a lower percentage of serious cases and fatalities. Of the 263 confirmed cases in which natural fathers were involved, 67 or 25.6 percent were serious and 2 or .8 percent were fatal. Stepfathers were involved in 105 cases of confirmed abuse of which 24 or 22.9 percent were serious and 2 or 1.9 percent were fatal. Of 29 confirmed cases or 68.9 percent of all cases in which other father substitutes were involved, 9 or 31.0 percent were serious and 1 or 3.4 percent was fatal.

By case status, the association between seriousness of injuries and relationship of perpetrators was significant for confirmed abuse cases (X^2 = 38.963, significant at .029 with 24 degrees of freedom) and for cases designated as uncertain (X^2 = 45.693, significant at .058 with 32 degrees of freedom).

Types of Injuries by Sex of Perpetrators

Are there specific types of injuries which are more likely to be perpetrated by one sex than by the other? According to Table 6-13 we found a significant association between types of injuries and sex of perpetrator (X^2 = 21.049 significant under .01 level with 6 degrees of freedom). We found that sprains, dislocations and internal injuries were attributed to male perpetrators to a higher degree than what would be expected by chance operation. On the other hand, more female perpetrators were responsible

for burns and scaldings, bone fractures, and skull fractures. There was little difference noted between the sexes for hemorrhages and hematomas or brain damage.

In Table 6-14 we noted case disposition of the above injuries by the sex of the perpetrator. The reader is reminded that the percentages presented in this table are based on small N's for each type injury occurring in Table 6-13.

Table 6-13

Specific Injuries Sustained by Children by Sex of Perpetrators

Sex of Perpetrator	Injuries													
	Sprains Dislocations		Burns Scaldings		Internal Injuries		Bone Fracture		Skull Fracture		Hemorrhage Hematoma		Brain Damage	
Male	16	76.2	24	36.9	22	68.8	38	38.0	17	39.5	24	52.2	6	46.2
Female	5	23.8	41	63.1	10	31.2	62	62.0	26	60.5	22	47.8	7	53.8
Total	21	----	65	----	32	----	100	----	43	----	46	-----	13	----

$X^2 = 21.049$ significant under .01 with 6df.

Table 6-14

Case Disposition of Specific Injuries by Sex of Perpetrators*

Sex of Perpetrator	Injuries																					
	Sprains, dislocations				Burns, scaldings				Internal Injuries				Bone Fracture				Skull Fracture				Hemorrhage, Hematoma				Brain Damage			
	AC	RO	UN	NF	AC	RO	UN	NF	AC	RO	UN	NF	AC	RO	UN	NF	AC	RO	UN	NF	AC	RO	UN	NF	AC	RO	UN	NF
Male	87.5	6.3	6.3	------	62.5	4.2	16.7	16.7	81.8	--	13.6	4.6	73.7	2.6	18.4	5.3	58.8	---	41.2	---	75.0	---	21.0	4.0	83.3	--	16.7	----
Female	40.0	20.0	40.0	------	80.5	---	17.1	2.4	100.0	--	----	---	71.0	1.6	25.8	1.6	65.4	3.8	26.9	3.8	72.7	4.5	13.8	9.0	57.1	--	28.6	14.3

*The numbers of injuries in this table do not correspond to Table 4-14 in which case the sex of child was known; the sex of perpetrator in a given case may or may not have been known. Percentages are based on row totals for each type of injury.

Chapter 7

SUMMARY, REFLECTIONS, AND CONCLUSIONS

This chapter summarizes the most significant findings which have been discussed in detail within the report. Wherever we deem it appropriate, we have examined and evaluated the results in terms of whether we view them as reflecting aspects of states' reporting laws and policy, mechanisms for implementing laws, public awareness and definition, and/or perceived idiosyncratic operations of systems' constituents.

While we did not obtain complete coverage in any area we sought to assess, we believe the levels of coverage we accomplished in most areas are sufficient to warrant talking in general terms about child abuse/neglect in the region as a whole. Where appropriate we have talked in specific terms about child abuse/neglect in the separate states. Additionally, we have attempted to point out some directions for future research in the area.

Perhaps the best format for this chapter is a presentation of basic findings by chapters, reflections on these findings, and concluding remarks.

Summary of Findings

1. Reported Cases Within the Region

Geographic Distribution*.--Reported cases were not randomly distributed throughout the region. Four states which accounted for over one half of the total regional population, reported only 15.2 percent of the cases. Similarly, one state having over one fifth of the region's population, reported slightly more than a half of all the cases.

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*Florida did not participate in this phase of the study, thus that state was not included in the calculation of the region's population.

Differences in reporting were also observed within the states. Less than a half of the counties within the region had at least one case in the sample for the study period.* In three states, less than 40.0 percent of the counties reported at least one case; and in four states, over 50.0 percent of the counties reported.

A little better than two fifths of the total sample of cases were reported from the 35 counties with a population of over 100,000.

Changes in the Incidence of Reported Cases.--Increase in the incidence of reported cases over the five year study period was not attributed to a natural increase in abusive incidents. Rather, changes in reporting may be more adequately explained by changes in laws, the mechanisms for implementing the laws, and/or heightened public awareness.

Disposition on Reported Cases.--In over two thirds of the total cases reported, abuse was confirmed. In 7.6 percent, abuse was ruled out. Uncertainty as to whether or not the incident was abusive in nature was the disposition in a little over one fifth of the cases. And 3.3 percent of the cases were not followed up.

States differed in the percentage distribution by case status. Of particular interest was the finding that in more than one half of the cases reported from North Carolina abuse was not confirmed. Perhaps this deviation from the regional distribution of case disposition may be partially attrib-

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*We obtained total reported caseload from three states. It is probable that a higher percentage of counties would have resulted had we obtained total caseload from all seven states.

uted to the fact that while the state's law provides for and defines as reportable abuse "...the risk of...", the reality is that in the absence of physical evidence, it remains difficult for systems constituents to define as abuse cases in which no apparent injuries exist. Over four fifths of the cases from Georgia and Mississippi represented confirmed abuse. In both of these states, abuse is defined in terms of physical injuries only. Additionally, the courts and/or police authority are invested with investigatory responsibilities.

2. Characteristics of Injured Children

Age, Sex, Race.--While more males than females were reported, a higher percentage of cases in which females were involved was classified as abuse.

Well over 50.0 percent of all children reported were under the age of six with 36.1 percent being under three years of age. A slightly lower percentage of cases involving children under six years of age was confirmed as abuse in comparison to children ten years and older.

White children reported out numbered black children 3 to 1. However, abuse was confirmed in a higher percentage of cases in which blacks were involved.

Age and Sex.--While we found no statistically significant association between age and sex of the injured children, we were able to discern a definite pattern. While a higher percentage of male children was under age six, females over the age of 14 outnumbered males approximately 2 to 1. The analysis of age and sex, controlling for case status, revealed that a higher percentage of females was adjudged abused in every age group with the excep-

tion of the age groups, less than one and fourteen to under eighteen.

Race and Age.--Whereas a higher percentage of black children than white children was adjudged abused this observation did not persist when age was considered. The injuries which the youngest black children sustained were less likely classified as confirmed abuse than those sustained by the white children. Black children, ten years and older, however, were adjudged abused more often than white children.

3. The Reported Incident

Place of Incident.--Regardless of the eventual case disposition, the majority of injuries to the children occurred in their own home.

Time of Incident*.--There was a significant inverse relationship ($r = -.239$, $p < .001$) between time of the reported incident and the age of children. The youngest children were more likely to be injured during the early and late morning periods than were the older children. The time of injuries to the youngest, moreover, was more likely unknown than when older children were injured.

A significant association was found to exist between time of incident and seriousness of injuries. The time of serious and fatal injuries was reported unknown more often than the time of injuries which were not serious. Serious injuries whose time of occurrence was ascertainable, however, were more likely than non-serious injuries to have occurred during the early

*Based on data from South Carolina and Tennessee only.

morning. Injuries which were not serious occurred most often during the late afternoon and evening.

Women injured children more in the early morning, men in the late afternoon and evening. Moreover, the reported time of the incident, in which the perpetrator was a female was more often unknown than in cases where the perpetrator was male.

Assistance for the Injured Children.--In general, reports of child abuse are increasingly coming from more formal sources, such as physicians and hospital personnel and schools. The regional distribution of referral or assistance sources, however, did not reflect the distributional pattern in any of the separate states. The differences between states may reflect elements in the laws, mechanisms for implementing the laws, and/or heightened public awareness.

Percentages of cases confirmed as abuse were highest when the referrals were made by the court or the police department.

Analysis of data of the resources first contacted for initial official assistance indicated that whereas public welfare social agencies were contacted approximately five times more often than any other agency, the percentage of cases confirmed were highest when the initial official contacts were made to the court and the police department.

We found a statistically significant association between time lapse from time of reported incident to time of official assistance and case disposition. In general, the less time between contact and assistance the more likely injuries were confirmed as abuse.

Circumstances Surrounding the Incidents.--"Inadequately controlled anger of the perpetrator" as a circumstance was present in almost one-fourth of the cases. There was a significant association between the existence of this circumstance and case disposition. In cases in which the circumstance was present, abuse was more likely to be confirmed and less likely ruled out, deemed uncertain, or not followed up than in cases where the circumstance was absent or its existence was unknown.

In almost three-fourths of the cases the circumstance "repeated abuse of the same child" was present. A significant association existed between this circumstance and case status. Confirmed abuse was more likely to be the case disposition when this circumstance was present than when it was absent or it was unknown.

"Sadistic gratification of the perpetrator" as a circumstance was present in less than 10.0 percent of the cases; however, a statistically significant association between this circumstance and case status was found.

Injuries Sustained in the Incidents.--Bruises and welts were the most common of the injuries sustained, accounting for over two-fifths of all the injuries.

Where no injuries were apparent, a low percentage of cases was confirmed. A higher percentage of boys suffered more serious types of injuries than did girls.

Similarly, younger children suffered from more serious types of injuries than older children.

Seriousness of Injuries.--A statistically significant association was found between the degree of seriousness of injuries and case status.

A significantly higher percentage of black children was seriously injured in comparison to white children. In over 70.0 percent of the cases in which serious injuries were sustained by white and black children, abuse was confirmed.

Whereas a higher percentage of the youngest children were seriously injured than older children, abuse was confirmed less often in cases involving the youngest aged children. A significant negative association was found between age and seriousness of injuries in confirmed abuse cases.

Other Children Involved in the Incidents*.--In over 20.0 percent of the cases, other children in the home had previously been involved in abusive incidents.

Siblings of the injured were injured in 21.7 percent of the current incidents.

Treatment of Injuries**.--No medical treatment was rendered in over 30.0 percent of the cases.

In a little less than 20.0 percent of the cases, some medical treatment was rendered.

Hospitalization was required in one out of every four cases.

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*Alabama and Tennessee not included in these analyses.

**Alabama not included in these analyses.

Official Involvement and Decisions Subsequent to the Incidents.--Public welfare social agencies were involved in more reported abuse cases (96.6 percent) than any other agency. This compares to less than 50.0 percent for the courts and less than 20.0 percent for police departments.

Children were placed out of their own homes in over one-third of the incidents, and in over 10.0 percent of the cases siblings of the injured children were also placed.

Injuries to Children in Military Families.--Comparing the military families with the non-military families reported in South Carolina, we found that whereas military families (active and former) accounted for approximately 12.5 percent of all cases reported, they were responsible for 22.0 percent of the cases involving serious injuries to the children.

4. Parents or Parent Substitutes of the Injured Children

In over four-fifths of the cases, the natural mother was in the injured childrens home; the natural father was in the home in a little more than half of the cases.

A slightly higher percentage of white natural mothers than black natural mothers were living in the injured children's home. A little less than two-thirds of the white children lived with their natural fathers. This compared to less than two-fifths of the black children.

It was uncommon for both white and black children to have lived with adoptive parents or in foster homes.

There was a tendency for injuries to be confirmed as abuse more often when children lived with a stepparent, a grandparent, or other relative.

Age of Parents or Parent Substitutes.--The majority of the parents or parent substitutes of the injured children was over the age of 25.

Similarly, abuse was most often confirmed when parents were over the age of 25.

Marital Status of Parents or Parent Substitutes.--The majority of the injured children's parents lived with their spouse--over three-fourths of the females and four-fifths of the males.

Fewer blacks than whites were living with their spouse, and more blacks were single-never-married.

The lowest percentage of confirmed abuse cases by marital status of females was for those who were separated. For the males, the lowest percentage was for the divorced.

Educational and Occupational Levels of Parents or Parent Substitutes.--The educational level of both male and female parents or parent substitutes was low.*

The occupational status of parents or parent substitutes reflected their low educational level.**

Employment Status of Parents or Parent Substitutes.--Approximately one-fifth of the mothers or mother substitutes was employed outside the home; a little more than one-tenth was unemployed but available for work.

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*Data from North and South Carolina only.

**Data from Kentucky and South Carolina.

Over three-fifths of the fathers or father substitutes were employed and approximately 5.7 percent unemployed. Employment status was unknown for approximately 30.0 percent of both male and female parents or parent substitutes.*

Annual Income of Parents or Parent Substitutes.--A little less than two-fifths of the children were from families with an income of less than $4,000. Approximately one-third of the families had an income of $4,000 but less than $7,000, and one-fourth between $7,000 and $9,999. Less than 4.0 percent had an income over $10,000.

There appeared to be no pattern in case disposition by annual income. Of particular interest, however, were the low percentage of cases confirmed as abuse and the high percentage in which abuse was ruled out for the two extreme income groups.**

Sources of Income of Parents or Parent Substitutes.--The main source of income was employment of family members. Contrary to the expected, less than 10.0 percent of the families relied upon public assistance grants.***

Number of Children in the Families.--The size of the families was surprisingly small. There were less than four children in almost three-fourths of the families.****

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*Data from Kentucky and North and South Carolina only.

**Income data were from Kentucky and North Carolina only.

***Data from Kentucky and North and South Carolina only.

****Alabama and Tennessee not included.

5. The Perpetrators

Relationship of Perpetrators to the Injured Children.--Of the main perpetrators, a little over two-fifths were mothers or mother substitutes; a little less than half were fathers or father substitutes.

Of the natural mothers living in the injured children's homes, a little more than two-fifths were reportedly abusers. Of these, a little less than two-thirds were identified as confirmed abusers.

Approximately 50.0 percent of all stepmothers were reportedly abusers, of which less than two-thirds were confirmed abusers.

A higher percentage of natural fathers than natural mothers were involved in reported incidents. In almost three-fourths of the cases in which natural fathers were involved, abuse was confirmed.

A considerably higher percentage of stepfathers than natural fathers were reported as abusers. Abuse was confirmed in over three-fourths of these cases.

A higher percentage of male parents or parent substitutes was more often involved in injuries to children than female parents or parent substitutes. Moreover, in cases in which male parents or parent substitutes were involved, abuse was more often confirmed and less often ruled out. A deviation from this pattern involved both other mother and father substitutes. In cases in which other mother substitutes were perpetrators, abuse was more often confirmed than when the perpetrator was either natural mother or stepmother. Abuse was less often confirmed in cases involving other father substitutes than in those involving natural fathers and stepfathers.

Relationship of Main Perpetrators by Race.--According to earlier discussions, male parents or parent substitutes were more often involved in injuries to children than were female parents or parent substitutes. This finding did not persist when we held race of perpetrator constant. For black perpetrators, well over 50.0 percent were female parents or parent substitutes; a little over one-third were male parents or parent substitutes. The reverse held for white parents or parent substitutes. It should be remembered that a higher percentage of black families was fatherless than white families. Thus, it follows that mothers would more likely to be involved in abusive incidents than fathers.

Sex and Age of Main Perpetrators.--More males than females were involved in reported abuse cases. There was a significant association between sex of perpetrator and the disposition of cases. In cases in which male were involved, abuse was more often confirmed than in cases in which females were involved.

The age of the main perpetrators was not vastly different from the age distribution of the parents or parent substitutes. This was an expected finding in view of the fact that an overwhelming majority of the perpetrators of injuries to children was a parent or parent substitute.

Sex of Perpetrators by Sex of Injured Children.--Without holding case status constant we found a significant association between sex of perpetrators and sex of injured children. Perpetrators tended to injure children of their own sex. In noting the association between these variables by the designated

case status, the tendency generally held. A significant association was found in the confirmed abuse and uncertain categories.

Relationship of Perpetrators by Sex of Injured Children.--For confirmed abuse cases, we found a statistically significant association between the relationship of the perpetrators and the sex of injured children. Natural mothers and stepmothers injured both sexed children almost equally. Other mother substitutes tended to injure females more often than males. Natural fathers and other father substitutes injured more males than was expected by chance, while stepfathers injured slightly more females.

We found no statistical association for the cases in which abuse was ruled out. But natural mothers were involved in injuries to more females than males. Stepmothers and other mother substitutes injured males and females almost equally. Natural fathers injured slightly more males, while stepfathers injured males and females almost equally.

For the uncertain case category, we found no statistical association. Natural mothers and other mother substitutes injured more females than expected, while stepmothers were involved in injuries to both sexes almost equally. Natural fathers and stepfathers injured more males, while other father substitutes were involved in injuries to both sexes almost equally.

Seriousness of Injuries by Sex of Perpetrators.--There was not an overall statistically significant association between seriousness of injuries and the sex of perpetrators. There was, however, a discernible pattern of interest and concern. A higher percentage of males was involved in cases in

which injuries were not serious or the severity was unknown. Females were responsible for a slightly higher percentage of serious injuries than were male perpetrators and for a considerably higher percentage of fatalities.

A statistically significant association was found between seriousness of injuries and the sex of perpetrators for the confirmed abuse cases.

Seriousness of Injuries by Relationship of Perpetrators.--Natural mothers were responsible for more serious injuries and fatalities than any other parent or parent substitute group. Of the confirmed abuse cases in which natural mothers were involved, injuries in almost two-fifths of the cases were serious (including 3.2 percent fatalities).

In a little over a third of the cases in which stepmothers were involved, the injuries were serious (including 1 or 5.9 percent fatality).

Of the cases in which other mother substitutes were involved, less than 20.0 percent were of a serious nature and no fatalities.

While other mother substitutes were responsible for a lower percentage of serious injuries than were natural mothers and stepmothers, a considerably higher percentage of cases involving other mother substitutes were confirmed abuse cases.

Approximately one-fourth of the cases in which natural fathers were involved were serious in nature with .2 percent fatalities.

Little more than one-fifth of the cases involving stepfathers was serious with 1.9 percent fatalities. Almost one-third of the cases in which other father substitutes were involved were serious with 3.4 percent being fatalities.

Abuse was confirmed in cases in which male parents or parent substitutes were involved more often than in those in which natural mothers and stepmothers were involved; yet, it has been observed that male parents or parent substitutes were responsible for a considerably lower percentage of serious injuries and fatalities.

By case status, the association between seriousness of injuries and the relationship of perpetrators was significant for confirmed abuse cases and for cases designated uncertain.

Types of Injuries by Sex of Perpetrators.--We found a statistically significant association between types of injuries and sex of perpetrators. Sprains, dislocations and internal injuries were attributed to male perpetrators to a higher degree than would be expected by chance operation. On the other hand, female perpetrators were responsible for a larger than statistically expected number of burns and scaldings, bone fractures, and skull fractures. There was little difference between the sexes for hemorrhages and hematomas and brain damage.

Reflections on the Findings

Any comparison of the rate of reported abuse incidents between states must be undertaken with several factors in mind. First, state laws differ with respect to the definition of abuse and the machinery for implementation of the reporting laws. Second, the degree to which reporting of abusive incidents occurs is undoubtedly further related to the degree to which the public is aware of and defines child abuse/neglect as a social problem.

Clearly, an analysis of the incidence of reported cases in the region over the study period suggests that while abusive incidents may be on the increase, changes in the reporting of incidents may be more adequately explained by changes in child abuse reporting laws, the mechanisms for implementing the laws, and/or heightened public awareness.

Seeing as how reported cases tend to increase with broader definitions and well defined procedures incorporated within child abuse laws, we would suggest that the model considerations relevant to the nature and cause of abuse and to the implementation of reports under the law be given thought and consideration in practice and further research.*

More comprehensible laws and clearer procedures for case handling undoubtedly increase the number of reports which are not of an abusive nature or which are not readily definable as abuse. On the other hand, this prescription would seem to provide for the inclusion of more cases of abuse. Broadening detection in this manner seems preferable despite the risks. We observed the functioning of the child abuse law in this respect in our analysis of data from North Carolina in which injuries in more than half of the cases reported were not defined as abuse. Perhaps the problem lies in the fact that while North Carolina's law provides for and defines as reportable abuse "...the risk of...", the reality is that it remains difficult for system's constituents to define as abuse cases in which no apparent injuries exist. Nevertheless, the prescription in the law served its purpose in that more valid abuse cases, as well as cases in which children might

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*See Johnson, pp. 98 and 101-105.

have been in danger of future abusive treatment, were detected and reported. We should be reminded that more than half of our total cases were reported from North Carolina.

Who was reported depended, we surmise, on who was injured or perceived to be injured and defined as needing assistance either by the perpetrator or by others. However, more males than females, more children under the age of six, and more whites than blacks were reported. Reflection on case handling indicates that these factors may need further researching as they relate to case disposition.

While more males than females were reported, a higher percentage of males suffered more serious types of injuries, and boys were somewhat younger than girls, a higher percentage of cases in which females were involved was classified as abuse in every age group with the exception of the age groups, less than one and fourteen to under eighteen. These kinds of findings would initially appear to suggest the existence of a sex bias in case disposition reflecting possibly society's tendency to protect females. However, when we noted types of injuries by sex we found that cases in which serious types of injuries were sustained were more often confirmed as abuse when males were involved than when females were involved. Thus, we might reconsider the above findings in terms of the pattern we found to exist between seriousness of injuries and sex of perpetrators and between sex of perpetrators and sex of injured children. While female perpetrators were responsible for a slightly higher percentage of serious injuries than were male perpetrators and for a considerably higher percentage of fatalities, and perpetrators tended to injure children of their own sex, cases involving female

perpetrators were less often classified as confirmed abuse. Is there, then, a possible sex bias in case handling? Or do more injuries involving female perpetrators result from "accidents"? Or are females more adept in explaining away the circumstances surrounding incidents? We suggest that the above victim related variables and the perpetrator related variables need to be further analyzed using large samples which would allow simultaneous control of all relevant variables.

Race of injured children, in terms of case disposition, also caused some reflections. Black children were more seriously injured than were white children. And whereas an overall higher percentage of black children was adjudged abused, a disproportionately higher percentage of cases involving white children under the age of one (64.2 percent) was confirmed as compared to black children under the age of one (48.8 percent). The opposite was found in the older age groups. In the ten years to less than fourteen, 64.6 percent of the white children were adjudged abused as compared to 78.0 percent of the black children. And in 66.2 percent of the cases involving white children between the ages of fourteen and eighteen, abuse was confirmed. This compared to 78.9 percent of the black children. Certain questions readily come to mind. Are agency's definitions and/or criteria for the judging of the existence of abuse different by race? Are the reported incidents surrounding injuries to black children under the age of one and ten and over vastly different from those in which white children are involved?

Whereas the findings lead to our posing the above questions, we noted that when the seriousness of injuries by race and case status was considered,

there was little difference in the percentage of serious cases confirmed as abuse for blacks and whites. Perhaps, as with sex and case disposition, analyses of larger samples need to be undertaken before we can speak on the issues of race bias and/or differential definition and/or actual differences in the circumstances surrounding incidents in relation to case disposition.

Our findings indicated that the time of the incident was a significant variable. Young children were more often injured during the early morning periods (12:01 A.M. to 6 A.M. and 6:01 A.M. to Noon) than were older children. The time of serious injuries and fatalities was reported unknown more often than was the time of injuries which were not serious. Serious injuries whose time of occurrence was available, however, were more likely than not serious injuries to have occurred during the early morning periods. Women injured children more in the early morning, men in the late afternoon and evening.

It would appear that knowledge of this nature, i.e., time factor, would be vitally important to program planning, staffing, and the delivery of services. Yet, reflecting on our earlier report covering state legislation and programs, only two of the eight states in the region systematically recorded this data on the child abuse reporting form at the central registry.

Analysis of data of the resources contacted for initial official assistance indicated that whereas public welfare social agencies were contacted approximately five times more often than any other agency, the percentage of cases confirmed were highest when the initial official contacts were made to the court and the police department.

Seemingly, there are many questions needing answers here. Are cases in which some arm of the law is contacted more serious in nature? More

serious than cases in which some medical constituent is contacted? Are law enforcers more expert social investigators thus being able to better detect the existence of abuse, or is it due to the sanctioned authority vested in law enforcement? Succinctly, is the difference in case disposition due to differences in the nature of cases, in case handling, or society's response to authority? We do not have the answers; however, it would appear vital to seek answers when we reflect upon two major current trends: (1) the move toward early warning signals, i.e., prevention--to render a decision other than abuse nullifies all "legal" avenues to services to children and their families, if, indeed, services are rejected; (2) the move toward changing the recipient of reports to public social agencies from law enforcement agencies. We have not posed the above questions for the purpose of arguing for the designation of all reported cases of injuries as valid cases of abuse. Most assuredly, accidents still occur and discipline is tolerated. We are suggesting, however, that further research is needed to explain why the differences exist in case status by source of initial contact and clearly this is important in view of the above mentioned trends.*

Inasmuch as the definition of child abuse depends--to an undetermined degree--upon visible physical signs of injuries, we suggest that case handling, i.e., official assistance after initial contact, becomes a more expedient operation. For indeed this is urged in light of the fact that

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*Note the model consideration relative to recipients of child abuse reports (Johnson: 1973, pp. 102-103). In view of the current findings, we have reservations on the recommendation that the public welfare agency become the single agency to receive child abuse reports.

we found a statistically significant association between time lapse and case disposition. In general, the less time between contact and assistance the more likely injuries were confirmed as abuse.

Undoubtedly, there are many factors related to the expediency of action taken subsequent to a reported incident. Among the system's factors would be the prescriptions in the reporting law which give explicit directions to the total process. Beyond the prescriptions relative to directions, the law should clearly define the degree of authority to be invested in the investigating agency. Additionally, perhaps explicit provisions should be made for the coordinative and collaborative effort of the various community service agencies when such is required by the investigative agency.

Our analysis of background data on parents or parent substitutes was limited primarily because we did not obtain 100 percent coverage for the region. Each background area we attempted to assess was not data maintained in every state central registry. It would appear, however, that states should begin to obtain and systematically report these kinds of data in view of the fact that parents, by far, are most often indicated as perpetrators in reports of child abuse.

Some interesting findings came out of the analysis of data on the identified perpetrator of injuries to children. First, male parents or parent substitutes were more often involved in injuries to children than were female parents or parent substitutes. The opposite was true for black families when we examined the data controlling for race of perpetrator. Second, there was a tendency for perpetrators to injure children of their own sex. Third, a higher percentage of females was indicated when injuries

were serious and fatal. Cases in which male perpetrators were involved were more often designated confirmed abuse.

Concluding Remarks

Reported child abuse cases in Region IV over a five year study period did not reflect a natural increase in abusive incidents. Rather, increase in reported cases was more adequately explained by changes in child abuse reporting laws, the mechanism for implementing the laws and/or heightened public awareness. In states in which the child abuse laws had not been amended, there was no patterned change or increase over the study period. On the other hand, increases were noted in those states in which the reporting laws were amended or public interest and awareness in the problem of child abuse/neglect were revitalized.

Many of our findings concerning injured children, parents of the children, and perpetrators were supportive of those found in the Gil study. Beyond this supportive aspect of the study, we were able to note some possible factors which may be related to differential case disposition by analyzing all relevant cases regardless of the designated case status.

While we feel that our findings definitely add to existing knowledge in the area, we feel that possibly the most significant outcome of the study is revealed in the questions to which the results gave rise.

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